

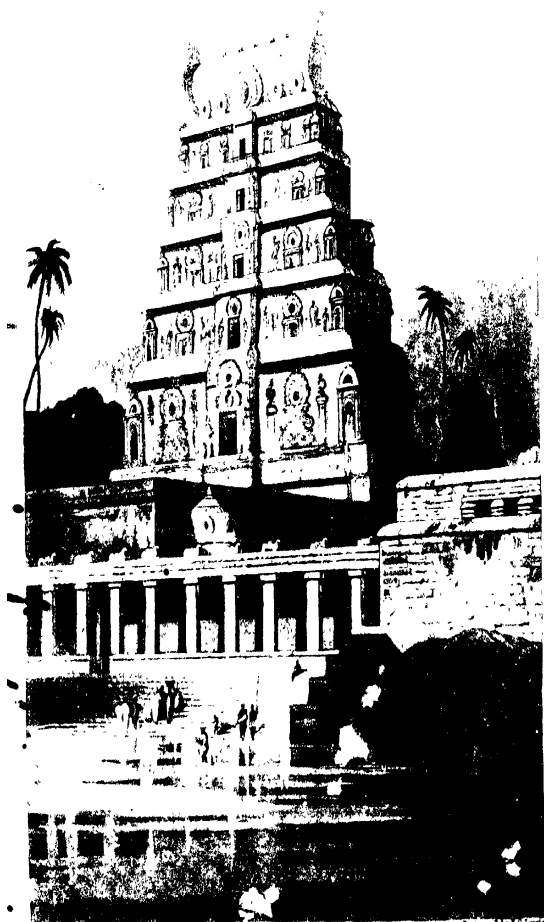
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Published by Smith, Elder & Co. 25, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4

MILITARY REMINISCENCES;

EXTRACTED FROM

A JOURNAL

OF NEARLY

FORTY YEARS' ACTIVE SERVICE

IN THE

EAST INDIES.

BY COLONEL JAMES WELSH,

OF THE MADRAS ESTABLISHMENT.



"The battles, sieges, fortunes, I have pass'd,
E'en from my boyish days."

LONDON:

SMITH, ELDER, AND CO., CORNHILL.

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TO
THE HONOURABLE
WILLIAM FULLARTON ELPHINSTONE,
MANY YEARS A DIRECTOR
OF THE
HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

TO WHOSE EARLY PATRONAGE, I AM INDEBTED FOR THAT RANK IN
THE SERVICE,

WHICH HAS ENABLED ME TO REVISIT

MY NATIVE LAND,

I DEDICATE THIS WORK,
AS A TRIBUTE OF LASTING GRATITUDE AND ESTEEM,

FROM HIS MOST FAITHFUL AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

JAMES WELSH.

INTRODUCTION.

IN this Literary age, when so many works are given to the public by men of acknowledged ability and superior talent, it may appear not a little presumptuous in an obscure individual, to hazard a production which, whilst it lays claim to no other merit than that of depicting reality, lies open to censure in, perhaps, every other instance. To disarm criticism, and lure the indulgent reader to a patient perusal of the following pages, the Author at once announces himself a plain, unlettered Soldier ; who, having spent the greater part of his life in a distant climate, and in the tented field, has just returned to his beloved Britain, with all the hoarded feelings of affection, excited by so long an absence from “ *his own, his native land!*”

Born of respectable parents, in the Capital of Scotland, it was his fate, early in the year 1790, to be launched into the world without a pilot; and, at the inexperienced age of fifteen, when more fortunate boys are just commencing that part of their education which is to fit them for public life, to embark as a Cadet for the East Indies.

In a work written with such very unfavourable preparatives for any literary composition, he trusts the candid reader will not look for the polish of the classics, but rather tolerate a plain unvarnished statement of facts; which are related just as they occurred, and were noted down in a series of hasty Journals, kept solely for his own amusement, and certainly not originally intended for publication. The kind, though perhaps mistaken, advice and entreaty of friends in India, first suggested the idea of printing them; and having been so long accustomed to a busy life, and for many years filled commands and situations, the duties of which occupied his whole time; the unusual vacuity of a sudden retirement held out a strong inducement to compliance; whilst the leisure of a tedious voyage having enabled him to extract

such parts as appeared the most likely to prove interesting to strangers, he now gives them to the public. They are thus published, then, with "all their imperfections on their head;" in the fond hope that some good may be found to redeem their inaccuracies, and with the earnest entreaty, that his kind readers will, even if the attempt to gratify them fail, indulgently take the endeavour for the deed.

CHELTEMHAM,
June 18th, 1830.

ERRATA.

Page 292, line 19, *for* hundred, *read* thousand.

— 309, — 22, *for* falowes, *read* talowes.

— 343, — 21, *for* Punug, *read* Punny.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Arrival at Calcutta—Madras—Vellore—State of East Indian Affairs in 1790, and two following years—Capture of Pondicherry—the Company's Native Army—Tanjore—Trinchinopoly—Negapatam—Madura—Ramnad—Trincomallee—Ramiseram—Negumbo—Night Adventure at Columbo—Caltura 1

CHAPTER II.

Point de Galle—Singular instances of National Revenge—Madura—Dreadful Climate of Masulipatam—Pallamcottah—Cascades of Papanassum and Courtallum—Tutacorine—the Poligar War—Skirmish at Pelhavunthally—Punjalumcoorchy—Failure of the first Assault—Siege and Capture - - 34

CHAPTER III.

Continuation of the Poligar War—Comery—Cutting through the Sherewéle Jungle—Skirmishes of the Foraging and Working Parties—Arrival of Woodia Taver—Departure from the Jungle, and arrival at Ookoor - - - - - 81

CHAPTER IV.

Continuation of the Poligar War—Inauguration of Woodia Taver—Capture of the Temple of Perahmallee—The Pagoda of Calia-coile, Velli Murdo and Cheena Murdoo, the Rebel Chiefs—Their Capture and Fate - - - - - 113

CHAPTER V.

Tranquebar—Cuddalore—Sadras—The Garden of Sautghur—
The Mysore Country—Bangalore—Seringapatam—Troops for
the Mahrattah War—Poonah—Capture of Ahmednugger - 136

CHAPTER VI.

The first Mahrattah War—Aurangabad—Dowlutabad—Victory
of Assaye, under General Wellesley—Battle of Kerjet Koria-
gaum—Visit of Scindia's Vakeel—Battle of Argaum—Elachee-
poor and Gawilghur—Arrival of Amrut Row, and Ceremonial
of his Introduction - - - - - 166

CHAPTER VII.

Mankarseer—Sholapoor—Poonah—Return to Bombay—Second
Mahrattah War—Capture of the Fort of Chandore—Lassul-
gaum—Dhoorp—Capture of Galnah—The Athaweey Country
—Surat—Soanghur—Serai—Governor Duncan—Cascade of
Gokauk - - - - - 203

CHAPTER VIII.

Savanore—Hurryhur—Lake of Tinghully Tallowe, and it's Poi-
sonous Pasture—Colossal Statue at Nungydeo—Nunjengoad
—Daraporam—Dindigul—Voyage to Europe, and return to
Madeira - - - - - 254

CHAPTER IX.

Return to India—Capture of the Arambooly Lines—General
Orders—Nagracole—Oodagherry—Trevanderam—Petrifac-
tions at Treycary—Vateevallum—Trinomally—Ryacottah
—Oosoor—Nundydroog—Bangalore - - - - - 286

CHAPTER X.

Coorg—Marckhéhrah, the Capital—The Máhá Swámee—Shooting
Excursion to the Interior—Second Visit and Return - - - 328

LIST OF PLATES

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

No.	Page.
1 FRONTISPIECE—A Hindoo Pagoda.	
2 Vignette on Title Page—Madras Native Horse Artillery.	
3 Madura	21
4 Position of the Army before Columbo.....	28
5 Caltura	32
6 Plan of Point de Galle.....	34
7 Point de Galle from the North-west	36
8 Point de Galle from the South-western Roads	36
9 Point de Galle from the Watering-place	38
10 Point de Galle from the North-east	38
11 Fort of Pallamcottah	46
12 Pagoda of Papanassum.....	48
13 Fall at Courtallum.....	50
14 Map of Tinnevely	54
15 Punjalumcoorchy	63
16 Map of Punjalumcoorchy	68
17 Plan of Comery	87
18 View of ditto	88
19 Plan of Sherewéle	90
20 Operations in the Sherewéle Jungle	93
21 Plan of Caliacole	123
22 Seringapatam	146

No.	Page.
23 Ahmednugger, from the Breaching Battery	154
24 Plan of the Battle of Argaum	188
25 Fort of Sholapoor	206
26 Hill Fort of Chandore	213
27 Fortress of Dhoorp	221
28 Hill Fort of Galnah	226
29 Small Fort of Beárah	238
30 Hill Fort of Soanghur	245
31 Cascade of Gokauk	252
32 A Royal Tiger	261
33 Colossal Statue at Nungydeo	264
34 Southern Hill Fort of Arambooly	288
35 Palace and Pagoda at Væteevallum	302
36 Pagoda of Trinomally	304
37 Hill Fort of Ryacottah	306
38 Ditto of Nundydroog	310
39 Hyder's Drop	314
40 Nundydroog and Baynes' Hill	316
41 Hill Fort of Kurmuldroog	319
42 Impression from Scindiah's Seal of State	354

MILITARY REMINISCENCES.

CHAPTER I.

Arrival at Calcutta—Madras—Vellore—State of East Indian Affairs in 1790, and two following years—Capture of Pondicherry—the Company's Native Army—Tanjore—Trichinopoly—Negapatam—Madura—Rannad—Trincomallee—Rameswaram—Negumbo—Night Adventure at Columbo—Caltura

CALCUTTA.

THE occurrences of an Indian voyage have been so frequently recounted, and are generally so extremely similar, that I shall pass over the one which brought me in safety to the East; and, landing a stranger on that distant shore, at once proceed to trace the scenes of my future life. Although appointed to Madras, it was my fortune to embark in a ship bound for Bengal, and I had thus an opportunity of seeing the far-famed City of Palaces at my very outset. To attempt a description of my first impressions, on entering the river Hooghly, in July, 1790, after being nearly six months at sea, would be perfectly futile; since all that one

has ever heard, or read, or conceived of India, falls infinitely short of the reality; and so lively, so novel, so animated, and so interesting is the picture which presents itself, that the effect has a much greater resemblance to enchantment, than to fact. The stranger sees a fine majestic river, navigable for some hundred miles inland, covered with vessels of every form and size, and belonging to people of every nation;—its banks overspread to the very water's edge, with every tint of verdure which the eye has ever beheld;—whilst the native Bengalees in their country boats, crowding round the ship with animals, fowls, and fish, as novel as themselves, and talking a jargon perfectly unintelligible; with their diminutive limbs and shrivelled countenances, present to the astonished Griffin's* imagination a race of beings seemingly intended by nature to complete the link between man, the image of his Maker, and the tribe of apes and monkeys. This first impression would, indeed, induce a belief that all the natives of India are so miserable and decrepid, as scarcely to deserve the appellation of human beings; but on arriving at Calcutta, the delusion vanishes, and men of all sizes, with countenances of the most varied hues and expressions, and limbs of the most perfect symmetry and elegance, are to be met with, in far greater numbers than the former, who appear limited to a very narrow space; whilst, on advancing still farther northward, they generally improve still more in stature, as well as intellect.

The approach to Calcutta, denominated Garden-Reach, in addition to its native beauties, is for some miles

* An European on his first arrival.

enlivened by the appearance of lovely gardens and country seats: the largest ships passing within cannon shot of the ramparts of Fort William; an irregular hexagon of considerable extent, and perhaps the cleanest and most beautiful fortification in the world. A fine broad walk by the river's side, leads to the town, which, however, opening on the sight, before reaching the fort, discovers a picture of grandeur not easily described; whilst every thing the stranger meets with on landing, differs so widely from all that he had been accustomed to in Europe, that the mind is lost in surprise: a surprise, not a little increased, on finding that *here* no European uses his own legs; but that all ranks and ages must bend to the custom of the place, and be carried. Here, then, the poor Griffin, once landed, finds himself a man of some consequence; surrounded by hundreds of natives of various castes and costumes, all eagerly pressing on him their proffered services, he is hurried into a palanquin, and borne away as it were in triumph, he knows not whither. Arrived at length at the house where he is to reside, his wonder still increases. He is ushered in by a loud discordant "*Báár ká Sahib Aiyah, Khubber de Jaow*,"—uttered by the *Durwaun*, or door-keeper, an indispensable appendage to every European house in Calcutta, and every thing within, as well as without, tends to recall to his imagination the scenes in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. I pass over his first meeting with, and greetings from, relations and friends, as also the sumptuous and gratifying meal which is first set before him; and, if he have had the good fortune to arrive between the months of February and November, convey him at once

into his bed-room, where, it is ten to one, if he get a wink of sleep for several hours. For want of air he is forced to open his musquito curtains, and then comes on the painful reality:—no longer enchanted, he now finds himself, while panting for breath, assailed by myriads of musquitos, as large as bees, who, while they draw blood in every direction, regale his ears with a delightful concert. He struggles till exhausted nature can hold out no longer, when falling into a troubled sleep, with the enemy ranging, without controul, over every part of his face, neck, hands, &c., they leave him towards morning, a mass of pimples; his clothes covered with blood, and, if not extremely fortunate, his eyes closed up into the bargain.

At length the dawn appears, and he sees the sun in a clear unclouded sky, for all the world like a red-hot cannon ball. The poor Griffin wakes, and his delusion returns: the strange amusements of the past night are forgotten; half a dozen obsequious domestics attend him; and he is clothed in fine linen, sits down to breakfast, commences the pleasures of a new day, and the spell is not soon broken; unless indeed he should be ordered out for morning drill, when *Brown Bess* and the *Goose Step* soon dispel his airy visions; but as I did not belong to the Bengal Establishment, my delusion continued until I left Calcutta. It was at first my intention to have attempted some sketch of this wonderful city, the metropolis of the East; but recollecting that it has been previously described by much abler pens, I shall confine myself to the mere observation, that it is, of all the British settlements in the East Indies, the one best calculated to attract the

admiration and astonishment of a stranger; not less from the nature of the country and the wonderful diversity and manners of the different natives, than from the excessive luxury and effeminacy which pervade the European community, and the regularity and beauty of the splendid buildings. The climate is indeed particularly enervating; which must be attributed to the lowness of the country, and the mixture of saltpetre in the soil, all round Calcutta; for many other places, even fifteen or sixteen degrees nearer to the line, are comparatively cool and salubrious.

MADRAS.

The anchor is down; the ship surrounded by boats, and catamarans, and all the passengers are eager to land, perceiving a beautiful-looking fort, full of houses, about two miles off, on the shore. The jolly Cadet is therefore, of course, among the number who leap into a Massoulah boat and make for the beach. Of all the perils encountered in a long East India voyage, the act of landing at Madras is the greatest; for there a tremendous surf, never stilled, rolls along with a thundering sound, and no boat of European construction could live in it for a minute. The Massoulah boat, made of rude planks, sewn together with coir rope, and in shape very much resembling a walnut-shell, though perfectly inconsistent with European taste, is so constructed, that, when struck by a surge, and even dashed against the ground, it yields to the blow, spreads out for a moment, and then resumes its original shape, without losing its buoyancy. Yet even with such a contrivance, and aided by catamarans, or rafts, of two or more

•

long misshapen logs of wood, firmly lashed together, on which the fishermen brave the surf in all weathers, many of them are annually swamped, and numerous lives lost, in crossing this terrific barrier.

Once happily landed on a sandy beach, opposite the sea-gate of the fort, then about 300 yards distant, but since entirely covered to the ditch, from constant encroachments of the ocean, the scene which follows is not very dissimilar to that at Calcutta, saving in the appearance of the country. A palanquin is pressed upon the Griffin; some dozens of fellows take charge of his baggage, and it is ten to one if he do not lose some part of his effects, ere he be fairly set down again. The Custom-house, built of wood, being at this time situated close to the landing-place, though since washed away, every thing of course passed through it into the fort.

It is by no means my intention to write a description of Madras any more than of Calcutta, both places being already too well known to require it. I shall therefore say only that whilst climate, people, manners, houses, living, &c. differ very considerably, the first night-scene at both places is unhappily quite the same; the musquitos of each being similar in size, disposition, and abilities. After sleeping, or rather struggling and rolling, on the top of a billiard-table, for the first night, in Mr. Hope's hotel* in the Fort, all the beds being pre-occupied,

* This Mr. William Hope was a merchant and shopkeeper at Madras, and few men have ever left India with a fairer character, or a larger fortune; few men, even in more elevated situations, did half the good which this honest man did; since he was as liberal and kind-hearted, as he was modest and unassuming. He was a passenger in the fleet,

I found my way next morning to the garden-house of an old friend of my father, who, with his lady, lived about five miles off; and here, being most kindly welcomed, I took up my abode till I was appointed to a corps up the country.

The Madras army at this time consisted of two battalions of artillery, four regiments of native cavalry, four European regiments, and twelve or fourteen battalions of native infantry, each commanded by a Captain. It was my lot to be appointed to the 3d European regiment, then stationed at Vellore, ninety miles in the interior; and this corps I consequently joined, as an Ensign, on nineteen pagodas a month, or 7*l.* sterling in English currency.

VELLORE.

The Fort of Vellore, situated in a beautiful and most fertile valley, nearly surrounded by hills, and in some degree commanded by one, called Sazarow, of the nearest three which are fortified and attached to it; is one of the prettiest and most perfect specimens of native masonry to be met with in the East. It is about a mile in circumference, nearly circular, with an exceedingly broad and deep ditch, full of alligators, some of which are nearly eighteen feet long. It is built entirely of stone, cemented with chunam, a species of lime; a large fossebray encircles the works, which, with the ramparts, are every where surmounted with large blocks of granite, cut out to form the

with General Mac Dowall, in 1809, when he perished in the gale which destroyed nearly a whole squadron off the Cape.

parapet, and so firmly resting on their own bases as not to require any kind of fastening. It is, I believe, very fully described by the accurate Orme; and the only difference in the present day is, that all the native houses in the fort, excepting the old Khelladar's, have been pulled down, and good substantial English buildings substituted in their places. There is an extensive pettah, which was originally fortified, and a few garden-houses outside.

Although I am not writing a history, yet I cannot, even at this distant period, revert to my first garrison, without offering a brief tribute of affectionate and grateful remembrance to the memory of my earliest and best friend, Ridgeway Mealy, then a Lieutenant and Adjutant of the regiment to which I belonged; who, on an introduction from my friends at Madras, received me into his own house, and became to me, in every sense of the word, a second parent. To him I owe my early knowledge of my duty as a soldier, of the Persian and Hindostanee languages, and, in short, whatever I acquired, was instigated and even enforced by him. His kindness suffered no abatement from a material change in his own state, when he married an amiable young woman, left the regiment, and was appointed to the public staff of the place; and though I had then my own quarters in the barracks, I still continued to live with him, and found that I had, in reality, gained another parent, in a lady very little older than myself. My worthy friend lived to be a Lieutenant-colonel only, and died at Nundydroog in the year 1807. I have since many a time visited his grave, and, the place being now abandoned, endeavoured to preserve it from neglect

and injury. When it is considered how much the tenor of every man's future life depends on his early habits and associations, I trust I shall be excused for thus mentioning the friend of my youth, more particularly as an European regiment was not, at that time, the best school for either industry, morals, or sobriety.

Having thus made my debüt as a soldier on the Eastern stage, it now becomes necessary to say something about the state of affairs at that period. Tippoo Sultaun, sovereign of Mysore, a kingdom bordering on our possessions on the coast of Coromandel, having, by a wanton and unprovoked attack on the territories of the Rajah of Travancore, brought on a war, in which the British were aided by the Nizam, our armies had already taken the field, and the principal one, under the personal command of General Medows, then Governor and Commander-in-chief of Madras, had advanced into the enemy's country, but did not succeed in bringing him to action. Smaller divisions were also advancing in other directions, and, in September 1790, a very desperate battle was fought between Tippoo's army and Colonel Floyd's detachment, at a place called Sattimungulun, in which, after a severe contest, the enemy were completely defeated.*

* In this battle, as in several subsequent actions, the personal exertions of Captain, afterwards Sir Thomas Dallas, of the Madras cavalry, were most conspicuous; and the safety of this detachment was greatly attributed to him. Some months afterwards, he had the pleasure of saving Colonel Floyd's life, when that gallant veteran, charging the enemy's guns on the heights near Bangalore at the head of our cavalry, was shot in the mouth, and fell from his horse, at the moment

It was at this period that Lord Cornwallis, Governor-general and Commander-in-chief in India, came round from Bengal, accompanied by various reinforcements from that Presidency, and, having joined our grand army, assumed the supreme command. The Carnatic was also, at that time, overrun with parties of the enemy's predatory horse, called looties, and we had few troops any where to oppose to them: but I now pass over all trifling occurrences incidental to such a state of affairs, and at once proceed to matters of more importance. The year 1791 teemed with remarkable events, both in a political and military point of view. The fort of Bangalore was breached and taken by storm, by the British army under Lord Cornwallis; while Tippoo, at the head of a much more numerous army, was looking on. The strong hill-forts of Nundydroog, Rya-cottah, Dindigul, Sewandroog, &c. were also captured, mostly by storm; and Lord Cornwallis, gradually advancing towards Seringapatam, and subduing all the intermediate places, compelled the Sultaun to take shelter under the very guns of that celebrated fort and capital. Being myself appointed to a native corps, then with the

* Thomas instantly dismounted, took him up in his arms, set him on an orderly's horse, and, remounting his own charger, took the orderly up behind him, and galloped off with the retreating column. Even this timely and signal interposition might, however, have been of no avail, had not our old and worthy friend, Major Francis Gowdie, advanced with an infantry brigade, contrary to positive orders from Colonel Floyd in the onset, and protected the cavalry from an overwhelming force. For this truly gallant service, the Major was thanked by Lord Cornwallis at the head of the army.

grand army, I left Vellore in November, and, under the escort of a strong reinforcement, joined Colonel Floyd.

On the 6th of February 1792, Lord Cornwallis stormed Tippoo's fortified camp on the island of Seringapatam, and gained a most complete and signal victory; after which, on our preparing to breach the place from our vantage ground, the Sultaun sending out his two sons as hostages, entreated for peace, and ceded considerable tracts of territory to the British and their allies, which put an end to the war. The remainder of this year furnished nothing worthy of particular notice; the British troops returned by different routes into the Carnatic, and the Nizam's army to Hydrabad.

At the commencement of 1793, intelligence was received that the French revolutionists had tried, condemned, and executed the mild and pious Louis XVI., and such of his family as they could lay hands upon, which led us to anticipate a war with that country as an inevitable result: and in June the news arrived at Madras of the actual declaration of war on the preceding 1st of February; when extensive preparations were immediately made for attacking Pondicherry, the principal French settlement in the East. The native corps, to which I had been removed, on my promotion to a Lieutenantcy, being then quartered at Tanjore, we had the satisfaction to be selected, with others from the same station, for that service.

PONDICHERRY.

The army at length assembled in the middle of July, and encamped on the Red Hills, in the vicinity of the

place. It was commanded by Colonel Brathwaite, and amounted, in the aggregate, to twelve thousand men, with a very large and efficient battering train. The town was regularly summoned; their helpless situation pointed out to them, and favourable terms proposed for their acceptance; but a positive and unqualified defiance being returned, we accordingly broke ground; and regular approaches were carried on under considerable obstruction from the enemy's fire, and the state of the weather. Until such time as our batteries were crowned, the French fired with great smartness and accuracy from their guns and mortars, killing and wounding eight officers, and about five hundred men in the trenches; the rain falling nearly the whole time in torrents. Early in August, however, our two batteries were completed; the northern one to breach the north face, and the western to enfilade the same, when their guns, after a few discharges, silenced those in the fort; and on the 23d of August the place capitulated, to the no small delight of the Governor, and all the respectable inhabitants, who had considerable difficulty in conveying their wishes to the British camp, and were opposed in a tumultuous manner by the soldiery and lower orders. After their vaunting defiance, it was natural to expect, on its surrender, to find a large and efficient garrison; what was our surprise, then, to discover only six hundred European soldiers, and between two and three thousand natives; the former of whom were made prisoners of war, whilst the latter disbanded without a murmur. Monsieur Chermont, the governor, was a loyal subject of the old school, as were most of the officers and gentlemen of the

place, who were all permitted to remain unmolested on their parole.

The Fort of Pondicherry is situated on the sea-shore, about one hundred miles south of Madras, and was at this time one of the most beautiful and interesting places in all India. In form it was an irregular polygon, of considerable extent; the works, constructed of mud, were in the nicest order, with a good wide ditch, and they were not in want of ordnance; but a protracted siege must have ruined most of the inhabitants, who possessed elegant houses, towering in every direction above the ramparts: indeed, the interior more resembled a town in Europe than the inside of a fortress. The Governor's residence, in particular, was completely exposed, and every street contained many large up-stair houses, equally liable to destruction. About six miles to the northward was a small fortified place on the mouth of a river, called Ariancopang, with a capital high road and garden-houses on both sides leading to it. To this place we conducted the *sansculottes*, where they were confined in a large Church, and the adjacent buildings. There was likewise another excellent high road to the westward, and several garden-houses in that direction also. But a person now visiting Pondicherry, after a lapse of thirty-six years, could hardly even trace the works, or find any of those embellishments, within or without, which once made it the finest settlement on the coast of Coromandel. A large English garrison being left in the place, the army returned to quarters early in September; and whilst the different corps composing that army are on their march, I may as well, in a few words, introduce to the reader's acquaintance,

THE COMPANY'S NATIVE ARMY;

which, being composed of five distinct castes, or classes of men, differing most essentially in manners, in religion, and in customs; who never unite, even at a meal, or in marriage, the discipline and harmony which have ever distinguished those native forces are truly wonderful. The more especially, when the bigotry of one class, and the superstitious prejudices of three others, are taken into consideration. But, in order to render these remarks intelligible to those who have never visited India, it may be as well to describe the different castes above alluded to.

First, the Mussulman, of whom at least one-third of the army is composed. This class is again subdivided into four particular sects; viz. the Sheik, the Syed, the Mogul, and the Puthaun, or Pattan, as they are usually called. They are generally brave, enterprising, and intelligent; and upon the whole, being free from religious prejudices, make excellent soldiers.

Second, the Rajahpoot, or descendants of the ancient Rajahs, the highest caste of Hindoos; a race not very numerous, but extremely scrupulous; and, when their prejudices are humoured, the bravest and most devoted soldiers, far surpassing all the other natives, in a romantic but sometimes mistaken notion of honour.

Third, the Telinga or Gentoo, a race of Hindoos, generally remarkable for mildness of disposition and cleanliness of person; obedient and faithful, but not very intelligent or enterprising soldiers.

Fourth, the Tamoul, or Malabar; similar to the former.

Fifth, the Pariah, or Dhéré, as they are called in the

army. The latter class, poor Chowry Mootoo, brave, active, and attached as they were to their officers and the service, with a few European failings, such as dram drinking, and eating unclean meats, &c. have of late years been excluded from the line, in order the more fully to conciliate the higher classes; who, however they may differ from each other in many points, are all united in considering any mixture with these as a contamination. They are now enlisted only in the Pioneers, and as artillery and tent Lascars. The former Corps, one of the most useful in the army, is composed almost entirely of this degraded class, than whom there exists not in all India, a braver, more efficient, or zealous body of troops. I beg it to be understood, however, that though the preceding remarks are intended, in particular, for the Madras native army, yet they are almost equally applicable to those of the two other Presidencies.

At the time this Journal commences, whilst our four European regiments were fully officered, each native battalion of the same strength had a Captain commandant, an European Adjutant, assistant-surgeon, and six or eight subalterns attached to it; and the Captain, having more power than a Lieutenant-colonel *now* possesses, and enjoying enormous allowances and immunities, it was considered a particular mark of favour, or good fortune, to obtain the command of a native corps.

These troops, while they are the most orderly, tractable, and willing soldiers in the world, have regularly advanced in discipline with their noble companions in his Majesty's service, the King's regiments in India; and both have

gone hand in hand to subdue every foe who has dared to oppose them. I need scarcely add, that the native forces in India are now completely and permanently officered; and that those of the Madras establishment at present amount to eight regiments of cavalry, and fifty-two of infantry; though certainly, the greatest improvement which the native service has experienced, is the regulation which obliges every European officer to study the native languages, and which excludes from regimental staff appointments all officers who cannot pass an examination in some native language.

TANJORE.

Our troops being returned to Tanjore, I have now leisure to say something about that kingdom; a Mah-rattah principality, situated in the very heart of the Carnatic, composed of a people whose manners, religion, and language, differ almost equally essentially from the original natives, and their Mussulman conquerors, whose states entirely surround them. The kingdom of Tanjore is not very extensive; but being remarkably well supplied with water, its fertility and beauty have justly obtained for it the title of "the Garden of the Carnatic." The capital, from whence the country is named, is composed of two strong stone forts, adjoining each other on a plain, and each containing several lofty Hindoo Pagodas, the like of which are no where to be met with in the Mah-rattah empire. The large fort, being about four miles in circumference, contained the Rajah's palace, and the houses of all the grandees and principal men of his court; and at this

time also included barracks and public buildings for two corps of native soldiers. The smaller fort was not more than a mile in circumference, and contained magazines, barracks for an European regiment, store-rooms, main and other guard rooms, a Church, and a fives court, and was given up entirely and exclusively to the English. The works of both, though irregular, are strong, and well built of stone, with a wide and deep ditch, full of alligators, a good fossebray, many large cavaliers, and on one, a remarkable Malabar gun made of bars of iron hooped over, the bore of which was upwards of two feet in diameter. The English had several garden-houses outside, and the garrison enjoyed the pleasure and variety of shooting and hunting-parties, in all directions, without any controul; whilst the vicinity of Trichinopoly, being only thirty miles distant, gave us opportunities of visiting our friends there, and of occasionally meeting them in our excursions.

TRICHINOPOLY.

This place, so famous in eastern history, was garrisoned by one European and two native regiments, with some artillery; it was then the capital of a district, and being now the head quarters of the southern division of the army, has always been a delightful station. The fort, an oblong square, about three miles in circumference, is built of stone, upon a plain, in a most fertile valley, and contains a rocky hill of considerable height and dimensions within its walls. On the summit of the rock is the palace of the Nabob of the Carnatic, to whom, in days of yore,

the whole country belonged, and in which some of his relations always resided. There are many good houses and public buildings inside; but cantonments have been built about three miles outside, for all the troops, excepting those on immediate duty. The ditch of this place also contains alligators; and they are to be met with, not only in the adjacent river, but in every tank in the neighbourhood. Having, in so short a space, mentioned three places infested by these amphibious monsters, I must add, that I have never met with them in the ditch of any other place of consequence in the country.

The Cauvery river, which is here some hundred yards broad, runs within half a mile of the north face of the fort, and separates it from the far-famed Pagodas of Seringham and Jumboo Kistnah, so long used as posts by the French and Mysoreans, in 1751 and 1752. Seringham is situated on an island in the river, of considerable extent, on which are also to be found the remains of some unfinished Pagodas, and ruins of others of enormous dimensions. It is in many parts covered with deep jungle, abounding with game of every description, from the tiger to the quail; indeed, at that time, it was by far the most productive spot in the Carnatic, and was therefore constantly resorted to by all sportsmen. This being also a capital civil station, there are many delightful garden-houses outside, and the finest fruit and vegetables in the Carnatic are to be found there.

The year 1794 produced nothing of a public nature worth recording; but, amongst other excursions, having visited Negapatam, I may as well make some mention of it here.

NEGAPATAM,

The principal settlement of the Dutch, on the Coromandel coast, is situated on the sea shore, about one hundred miles south of Pondicherry, and sixty east of Tanjore. It was formerly a place of consequence, and carried on a considerable trade both with Europe and other parts of India, particularly to the eastward, but was then on the decline. Of the fort itself, only some enormous misshapen masses of masonry remained, to point out where it had once stood, and how strong the works must have been, before they were destroyed by the English. The town, though partly deserted, was still a very neat one, containing several wide streets, with substantial houses on both sides, in which all the remaining inhabitants resided, amongst whom were some respectable families; and as every article of life was comparatively reasonable, they still contrived, with hardly any external intercourse, to spin out a dull and peaceful existence, enjoying their pipe and dram, without even enquiring what was going forward in the surrounding world. If their countrymen in Europe are styled phlegmatic, what term can be applicable to their still more apathetic oriental brethren? I have met with many, but only in their own homes, who boasted that they had been thirty or forty years in the same house, and never went outside of the place they were living in! They never complain, or enquire how others get on; and as long as the mere necessities of life are to be procured, they are contented.

Having suffered from an attack of liver complaint, I

left Tanjore in July this year, and went, on leave, to Calcutta, *via* Madras; there became a Benedict, and returned early in 1795; when, being removed to a corps at Madura, I joined accordingly, *via* Tranquebar and Tanjore.

MADURA,

Formerly the capital of an extensive and wealthy kingdom, but now only the head-quarters of a district, is situated on a level and well-cultivated plain, through which a broad river and several lesser streams, constantly meandering, insure it's fertility. It is about eighty miles south of Trichinopoly, and nearly the same distance from Tanjore. The walls of the city, nearly three miles in extent, and built of stone, with a broad and deep ditch, are now quite out of repair, and could never have been deemed strong; but the remains of some of the most elegant and durable specimens of Indian architecture are to be met with in this place; particularly the ruins of Trimulnaig's palace, and his thousand-pillared choultry. The hand of time, and the more destructive paws of mischievous man, have in vain combined to destroy these inestimable vestiges of former science and grandeur. Whole apartments, and parts of others, particularly arched roofs of various dimensions, composed of brick and chunam, now one inseparable mass, have withstood every wanton effort to destroy them; and, in many places, where such roofs have been originally supported by wooden pillars, large beams and frame-work, the more perishable parts have been extracted or laboriously dug out and removed, without at all injuring the more permanent masonry: whilst even some few traces are still to be found of

various coloured stucco, or fine chunam, with which the whole had been faced and finished. There were also several large and elegant Pagodas in perfect repair, which were maintained, at the Company's expense, in great splendour. One alone, at a great distance from the rest, having been formerly polluted by Europeans, by being used as a magazine, remained unattended and unoccupied, and served as a gateway to a gentleman's compound. The garrison at this time consisted of one native corps, which had barracks and houses in the fort; and of a king's regiment, cantoned near Secundermally, a famous hill about five miles to the southward. The commanding officer* had an elegant house near the centre, considerably raised from the ground, with a capital garden attached to it; the Paymaster lived in a very roomy building, of eastern architecture, about two miles to the northward, across the river, called Fort Defiance. Captain John Bannerman, commanding our corps, resided in a delightful bungalow,

* Friends of my youth! how can I mention the place where you presided, the house in which you dwelt, and pass over in silence the kind and hospitable proprietors? A mistaken idea regarding the delicacy of mentioning a family, some members of which are still in existence, led me, in the first instance, to omit the name of Major Francis Gowdie, then Commander of Madura. He was the father of his little community, and his lady, our kind and affectionate mother. I dare not say more; their house was open to all their children; and many, many a happy hour have we spent therein. Kind and considerate to all, their friendship was particularly enjoyed by a young couple, from that time, through the various vicissitudes of an Indian life; nor diminished by the senior becoming Commander in chief. He died many years ago, in Scotland, but his memory is still most affectionately cherished in their hearts.

about two miles to the eastward, on the bank of a beautiful stone tank, with an island and pagoda in the centre, called Teppocólon; and there was a very extraordinary and picturesque rocky hill, about three miles beyond Fort Defiance, called Aneemallee, from its resemblance to a crouching elephant. A good road led to Secundermallee, and a large avenue to Teppocólon.

Secundermallee, a mountain held sacred by all castes, as supposed to contain the tomb of Alexander the Great, has a temple on its summit, the pavement of which is said to be regularly swept by royal tigers with their tails. There is a beautiful little spring near it, full of small fish; and rude steps have been made for foot-passengers from top to bottom, some hundred yards in length. The cantonment was formed close to the base to the westward, but was abandoned the next year, and not a vestige of it now remains. The hill being very rugged and woody, certainly gave some shadow of foundation for the native report of its savage attendants; and I have since actually hunted tigers on the very spot. In those early times, when hospitality and good-fellowship reigned in the East, a constant intercourse was kept up between the different members of this scattered society; though the heat was always so great, that many suffered from a too constant exposure to its influence.

A war breaking out with the Dutch, and an expedition being meditated against their possessions on the island of Ceylon, I was, towards the end of this year, detached to the sea coast to make fascines and gabions to carry with us. This led to an acquaintance with—

RAMNAD,

The capital of a district. This fort, which then belonged to the Nabob of Arcot, lies about sixty miles to the south-eastward of Madura, and ten or twelve from the sea shore. The walls were of brick, and had some ditches, but it is not very extensive, and was never a formidable place: indeed it is only interesting to Indians, as having been, for upwards of thirty years, the residence of Colonel Martinz, of the Nabob's service; who commanded the place, as well as a regularly disciplined provincial battalion, bearing his own name.

Of all the hospitable men in the most hospitable country in the world, this extraordinary old gentleman stood foremost. He had a large well-furnished house, and received with a hearty welcome as his guests, all who chose to come to it. He had a cellar, or go-down, as it is there styled, full of the choicest liquors, and amongst the rest, pipes of Madeira of various ages, slung by ropes from the roof, to which he decreed an "Europe voyage" as he called it, every time the door was opened, by making a servant swing them about for some minutes. His wine was never fined, and seldom bottled, but drawn for immediate use. He was a man of few words, and directed his servants, by snapping his fingers, or by whistling. A native of Savoy, or Portugal, of a diminutive form, being under the middle size, with a visage more resembling a baboon than the human species, and manners the most uncouth and outré, Colonel Martinz was still the father of his corps, and the kind friend of all his little community; and, to sum up his character in a

few words, was generally known, much beloved, and wanted only the outward forms of religion, to be universally respected and esteemed. Passing through this place to the sea coast, and having completed our task at Altangary, the detachment returned to Madura; and at the same time a force, sailing from Madras, attacked and captured Trincomallee, after a few days' skirmishing.

TRINCOMALLEE.

The harbour of Trincomallee, situated near the north-eastern extremity of the island of Ceylon, is one of the best in India; it was defended by numerous works, and might have given us much trouble to take it, but fortunately the garrison were mostly quiet merchants and mechanics, who, by a protracted defence, would have hazarded their all for the bubble reputation, and therefore very speedily surrendered. The troops destined for the conquest of the Dutch possessions on the western shore of the island, then assembled at Ramiseram, in January 1796, consisting of three European, and five native corps, under the command of Colonel Stewart*, of his Majesty's 72d regiment.

RAMISERAM.

This island, about ten or twelve miles long, and half that breadth, and which is situated at the head of the

* Colonel Stewart was a very old and experienced officer, well known, and at that time much liked by the Madras army; he went by the familiar appellation of Old Row. Relieved from the government of Ceylon, he afterwards became Commander in chief at Madras, and returned to Europe in 1808

gulf of Manaar, is separated from the main land of the peninsula, by a narrow ferry, and from Ceylon, by Adam's bridge and the island of Manaar. Its Pagodas, celebrated all over India for their sanctity, are at the eastern end of the island; they are lofty, and in good repair, though of great antiquity. The Brahmins have a neat little village in the neighbourhood, and there is a fine square stone tank, with a small island in the centre, luring the unwary to destruction, for its approach appears clear of all impediments. I had swam across to look at its images, and returning, carelessly allowed my legs to sink beneath me, when they were immediately entangled in weeds, which pulled me under water two or three times; until, at length, I tore them up from the bottom in the struggle, and reached the bank with great difficulty, dragging behind me several thin cords of many feet in length. Although it is not very likely that any of my readers may have occasion to try the same experiment, yet I could not resist the temptation of holding out a warning to those who might be led into a similar danger, through similar inadvertency.

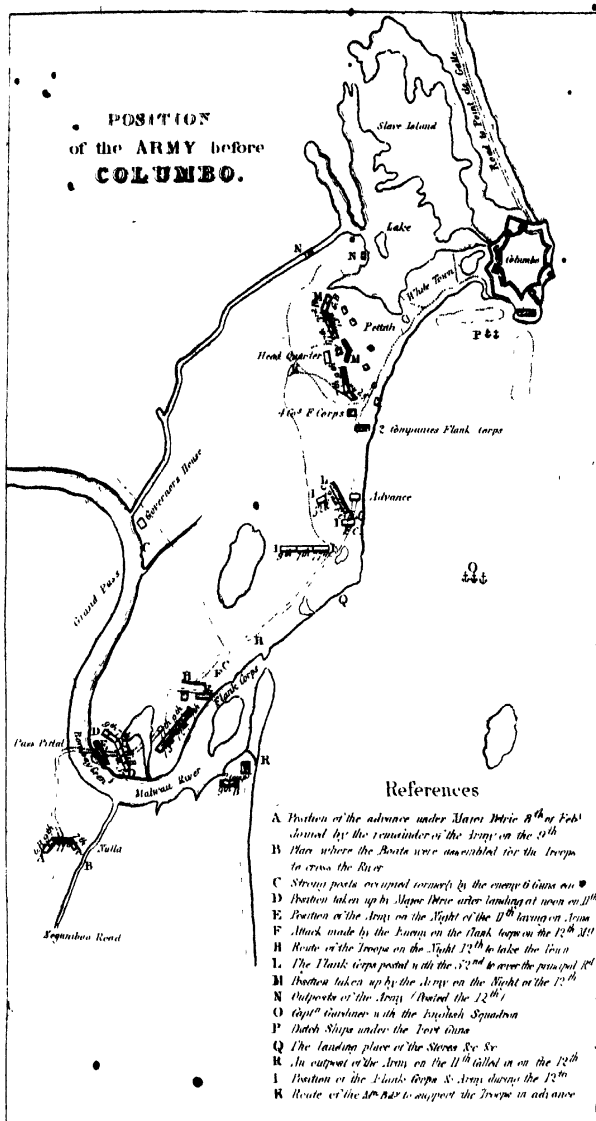
Here, on very good ground, the troops were encamped as they arrived; and about the 10th of January we took our final departure, in large open boats; crossing under the bridge, as it is called, we coasted along, by Arepoo, Calpenteen, &c., running on shore every evening, to cook and eat our diurnal meal, and sleep on the beach; but without any shelter from the weather, which being particularly inclement, we generally had our clothes wet through all night, and dried during the day upon our bodies: experiencing both extremes, in the course of the twenty-four

hours. Our first rendezvous was Negumbo, about thirty miles north of Columbo, then in the enemy's possession. Our flotilla being drawn up in order, a landing was effected, and we found the works abandoned without resistance. Here, then, we landed our stores, camp-equipage, &c., as also the fascines and gabions we had made, under the erroneous impression that we were not likely to find materials in Ceylon, the best wooded country in the world; and I may as well anticipate the catastrophe, by remarking, that they were afterwards all served out to the Bombay Grenadier battalion, at Columbo, for firewood! the useless cost and labour being carried to the account of experience and geographical knowledge. Leaving our boats to carry on the heavy articles, for which cattle could not be procured, the army marched by land, and arrived within four miles of Columbo, without meeting the slightest resistance, as it was not until after we had crossed a broad and rapid river, that the enemy attempted to impede our approach.

COLUMBO.

Advancing at daylight, we crossed the great ferry, called Grand Pass, and forming on the other side, moved on, uncertain what reception we were likely to experience, when all of a sudden a peal of musquetry, and shower of balls, arrested our attention. A body of eight hundred or one thousand Malays, followed by Dutch troops, gave us this salutation, which being returned with interest, they immediately took to flight, leaving, amongst others, a Colonel mortally wounded on the ground. His remains

**POSITION
of the ARMY before
COLUMBO.**



References

- A Position of the advance under Major Dieric 8th of Feb^y
- B Position of the remainder of the Army on the 10th
- C Place where the Boats were assembled for the Troops to cross the River
- D Strongly posted occupied tomorrow by the enemy to Guna on 11th
- E Position taken up by Major Dieric after landing at noon on 11th
- F Position of the Army on the Night of the 11th having on 12th
- G Attack made by the Enemy on the Flank Troops on the 12th
- H Route of the Troops on the Night 12th to take the Town
- I The Flank Troops posted with the 5th and 6th to over the principal Rd
- J Position taken up by the Army on the Night of the 12th
- K Outposts of the Army (Abolished the 12th)
- L Captain Gardiner with the English Squadron
- M Dutch Ships under the Fort Guna
- N The landing place of the Stores 8th 8th
- O An outpost of the Army on the 11th killed in on the 12th
- P Position of the Flank Troops 8th Army during the 12th
- Q Route of the 12th 8th to support the Troops in advance

were interred with military honours, and we took up our almost peaceable abode in the pettah and environs, about two o'clock the next day: having, however, had a most ridiculous alarm during the night, which terminated fatally for one of our comrades. Being with the advance, I was posted in a thick grove, with one of the picquets for the night; the next party to us was furnished by the Bombay grenadier battalion, in similar ground. All the sentries were loaded, and told to challenge distinctly any one who approached them; and, if not satisfactorily answered, to fire at the object. The night was dark, and all had remained still, till towards morning, when suddenly, "Who comes there?" was bellowed out from the Bombay post, and immediately after the report of two musquets, followed by others, resounded through the grove. "Fall in! fall in! prime and load!" followed on our part, to which a dead silence ensued; and then one of those uncertain pauses, the most trying to the nerves and patience of a soldier. Matters remaining in this state for some time, we ventured to enquire what had occurred to our comrades on the right, and found that a buffalo had suddenly advanced on two drowsy Ducks,* and, not having the countersign, was immediately fired at; the remainder

* The Bombay army are generally designated "*Ducks*," perhaps from their Presidency being situated on a small island. The Bengalees are denominated "*Qui hies*," from a habit of exclaiming "*koey hye*?" "who is there?" to their domestics, when requiring their attendance; and the the Madrasees are designated by the appellation of "*Mulls*," from the the circumstance of always using a kind of hot soup, yeleped Muligatawny, literally pepper water, at their meals, particularly supper.

of the picquet turning out, loaded their pieces, and also commenced firing, when a shot from a better marksman than the rest killed one of our own sentries, and was even fired so close to him, as actually to blow away a part of the poor fellow's mouth. The fact was, that drowsiness had obtained such complete possession of the guard, that on their being thus suddenly wakened, they were quite unable to recognize each other in the dark.

Negotiations having commenced between Colonel Stewart and the Dutch Governor-general, Van Angleback, we remained inactive for a few days; when, on the 16th of February, the whole of their possessions on the island were ceded to us by capitulation, in trust for the Prince of Orange, and the fort was instantly taken possession of by our troops in his name; our corps, the 9th battalion of Native infantry, being detached to Point de Galle, sixty miles south, to receive charge of, and garrison that fortress.

Columbo, the capital of the Dutch on Ceylon, is a place of considerable consequence and strength, from its natural position, as well as from its works, which were numerous and in good condition. The fort, which is extensive, contained many capital dwelling houses, including the Governor's palace, which is a most superb building. The pettah had also several good houses, churches, &c., in it; and in the place, altogether, were many respectable inhabitants. Without a chance of relief, it would have been madness to have held out; and by an early capitulation, private property was not only preserved, but all the different public servants obtained pensions from our

government. Columbo is also a place of great traffic by sea; the roadstead being extremely safe and commodious, particularly during the north-eastern monsoons.

But of all the novelties which then presented themselves to our view, the Cinnamon gardens attracted our earliest attention, though that plant is now common nearly all over India; and many were the good trees, cut down for walking-sticks, as well as to secure the bark, without consideration of the serious injury thus done to the future produce. No sooner were the English proclaimed in authority, and installed in quiet possession of some of the permanent dwellings in the place, than merchants and hawkers of all descriptions, came pouring in with their goods; amongst which were a great variety of precious stones, some richly set in gold, and offered for very moderate prices, whilst all were declared, *mirabile dictu!* to be the veritable produce of this Hindoo Paradise;—diamonds, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, amethysts, topazes, cat's-eyes, and cinnamon stones, the two latter, I believe, being almost exclusively to be found on this island. Then, in the cabinet way, small boxes of various forms made of tortoise-shell, calamander, reemhout, ebony, and satin wood, all equally new to us, as they were really very beautifully finished; whilst even the vendors themselves were subjects of equal wonder and amazement to us, so materially did they differ from all the natives of the continent. The principal native merchants in Ceylon, are Lubbies, a degenerate race of Mussulmans, and Chingalese, the aborigines of the country; whilst, strange to say, Hindostanee is Greek even to the former, who generally

speaking a corrupt Malabar, or Arawee; so that we had a new language to learn.



CALTURA.

Our first march was to Caltura, twenty-eight miles from Columbo; the road, which is generally close to the sea-shore, being broad and well shaded by cocoa-nut and cashew trees; and, having crossed a broad, deep and rapid river in boats, we relieved the garrison of this romantic and interesting spot. The fort, built upon a small hill on the southern bank, which commands the ferry and all the adjacent country, is a beautiful little post, and in excellent repair. The town itself, having the Government-house at the extremity next the fort, is about half a mile from it, and contains many neat and comfortable dwellings, with a few respectable resident Dutch families; whilst, further up the river, are some of the most lovely plantations to be met with in any part of the world. Our next march was

to Bentott; thence to Billitott; and on the 22nd we reached Point de Galle.

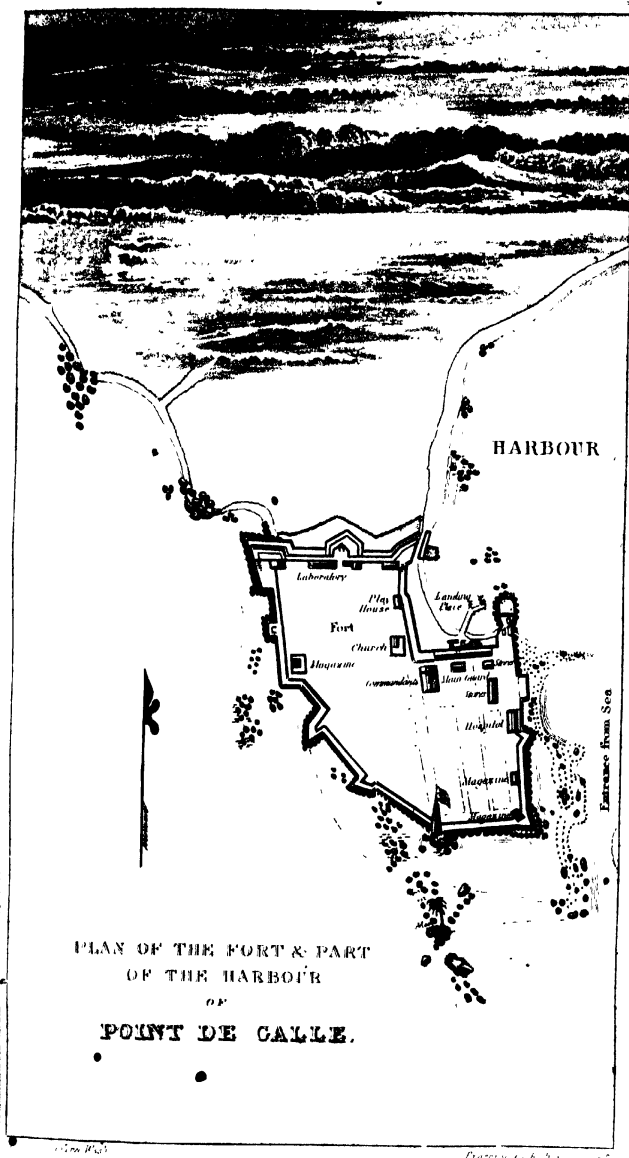
My first Journals, containing the details of this march, were unfortunately lost in after-times; and I have, therefore, now nothing but my recollection to depend upon, for memoranda of Ceylon. After returning to Madura, and bringing my family a distance of five hundred miles over land, I was at first appointed to command Caltura, but Major Agnew, then Adjutant-general in Ceylon, most kindly and strongly recommending me to Colonel Stewart, I was speedily made Fort-adjutant and Paymaster of Point de Galle, to which place I consequently returned early in October.

CHAPTER II.

Point de Galle — Singular instances of National Revenge — Madura — Dreadful Climate of Masulipatam — Pallamcottah — Cascades of Papanassum and Courtallum — Tutacorine — the Poligar War — Skirmish at Pelhavunthally — Punjalumcoorchy — Failure of the first Assault — Siege and Capture.

POINT DE GALLE.

THE fort of Galle, sixty miles south of Columbo, built on a rocky point of land, forming the northern boundary of a good harbour, about five miles in circumference, which it completely commands, is a place of considerable extent, and the fortifications were then in a state of complete repair. Like Columbo, it was crowded with capital and substantial buildings, and had a Governor's palace, and Commandant's quarters, into the bargain. Being surrounded on three sides by the sea, the strongest works were, of course, on the land side, which is unluckily commanded by an extensive woody hill, within breaching distance. It contained many very respectable families, and a garrison, the native part of which was disbanded, and the Europeans pensioned. The Governor, Mr. Fretz, a man of rank and education, delivered up the place immediately, and was permitted, *pro tempore*, to retain the Government-house, in which he gave all the English officers a grand dinner the first day. The utmost cordiality subsisted between us from the very first, and the English and Dutch speedily became one community. The harbour is large and



commodious, and ships of from six to eight hundred tons* may enter and lie there in perfect safety, for about eight months in the year: though the south-western monsoon driving in a long swell renders it extremely dangerous at that season, when the waves rapidly rise and fall from ten to twelve feet; and though a vessel might be generally in deep enough water there, yet from the sudden rising, and, consequently, falling of the sea, the situation of any ship then at anchor, must be particularly perilous.

As the road for the whole way from Columbo is excellent, so is the one nearly all round this harbour on the sea-beach, which is peculiarly firm at low water; and there are some pleasant garden-houses close to the road in the circle. The climate is delightful, and here my remarks on the temperature of Calcutta are particularly verified; since though within six degrees of the line, Point de Galle, excepting in the months of December and January, is considerably cooler the whole year round, than Calcutta in twenty-one. The country in the neighbourhood is beautifully diversified by hill and dale, and wood and water; and there are several small posts in the interior, to which we resorted on parties of pleasure, generally in boats, by means of a lake and rivulet flowing through it.

On the opposite side of the harbour also was a watering place, to which we used to sail across, on shooting and fishing excursions; it was not accessible by land, having

* In the year 1797, two large Indiamen, fully laden, were brought in to be protected from Sercey's squadron, and subsequently many ships of similar burthen entered in perfect safety.

high woody mountains in the back ground ; and in this low spot, a fine clear spring in the sand furnishes water for all the ships which require it.

During the occupancy of the Dutch, Point de Galle had been the capital of a district, having several inferior dependencies, where petty chiefs exercised an arbitrary controul, apparently little subject to superior authority ; such an inference may, at least be fairly drawn from the following tragic incident, which happened immediately after we had taken possession of the island.

A Mr. Van Schooler of the Dutch Civil service, was chief of Matura, about thirty miles south east of Point de Galle, and had the character of being a very cruel and unkind ruler ;— amongst many other acts of oppression laid to his charge, he was accused of having ordered an aged Malay domestic to be tied up and flogged to death. Whether the infliction was excessive, or whether he was at all aware of the probable result, I could never learn ; but the plain fact that the poor old man perished under the lash was undisputed ; leaving a son, a powerful young man, in his murderer's service. This gentleman, being relieved by an officer of our corps at Matura, returned with his family to Point de Galle, where he possessed a delightful garden-house, and every comfort which riches could procure : and being a man of respectable family, and well connected, he had married a lady of considerable personal charms, who, unlike himself, bore a most excellent character, and was much esteemed by both Europeans and natives.

A point of honour among the Malays, too little attended to or understood, is revenge for every injury or insult,

imaginary or real, and always sought in a manner which leaves the object little or no chance of escape: but in painting the character of the drover Robin Aig, Sir Walter Scott has described the Malay so fully to the life, I need only refer to that inimitable author for a perfect illustration.

The extinction of the Dutch power in Ceylon, and perhaps a very erroneous notion of our criminal jurisdiction, induced the Malays to consider this as a favourable opportunity for carrying into effect their summary application of the *Lex talionis*. Among the principal native inhabitants at Galle, resided a man called Noor John, the Prince of the Malays, to whom all the rest looked up, and who was much respected by the Dutch government. This man, getting hold of Mr. Van Schooler's Malay servants, insisted on their taking vengeance for the death of the old man; and the more to encourage the son to perpetrate the deed, while the rest were to connive at it, and protect him from without, he gave him his own creese, or dagger. The young man, whose name was Gabong, readily agreed; and they proceeded together to the house, where Gaboo, the confidential slave of Mr. Van Schooler, opened the door for them, and secreted Gabong under his master's bed.

The lady and gentleman retired to rest as usual, and being more than ordinarily drowsy, he almost immediately fell fast asleep. Mrs. Van Schooler sat up reading her Bible for some time, and then prepared to follow him. She was in her seventh month of pregnancy, and, like many mothers in the same state, was under considerable anxiety of mind, imagining that she should not survive

her confinement. She laid down, and was just falling asleep, when she was awakened by something moving under the bed; she immediately awoke her husband, told him what she had felt, and entreated him to get up and look there; but no entreaties could induce him to shake off his drowsy fit; he grumbled, and immediately slept again. Overcome with fatigue, she had at length fallen into an uneasy slumber, when, roused by a deep groan she opened her eyes, to behold her husband weltering in his blood, and a man standing beside him with a creese in his hand. Regardless of all personal danger, but intent on saving her husband, this devoted wife sprang from the bed, ran round to the other side, and immediately seized the murderer by the hair. He struggled to get away, but twisting the locks round her hands, she persisted in holding him, and calling loudly for assistance. In this manner he dragged her to the door, when, turning about, he said, "Let me go, madam, I do not wish to hurt you;" but she screamed, and prevented his departure by main strength, until at length he turned round and stabbed her in the stomach. She fell, and he escaped. How long this unfortunate pair continued without assistance, was never exactly known; but the next day, they were found by our medical men, who had been called in, both lying in the same room, in which the husband shortly afterwards expired, and was carried out, when she waved her hand towards him, and said she should soon follow. The wound in her stomach was sewed up, and for some days hopes were entertained of her recovery; while in the mean time every exertion was made to trace the murderer, and the servants of the house being

• confined on suspicion, Gaboo volunteered a confession. It would appear that the murderer, Gabong, had been turned off previously, and immediately after the perpetration of the bloody deed, had absconded. He was, however, speedily apprehended, and brought back a prisoner, though then having very short hair, it was feared that he was not the man. Being, however, along with several others, who had been confined on suspicion, brought into the room where his victims lay, Mrs. Van S. immediately pointed him out, and made oath to his indentify. Still he asserted that she was mistaken, when solemnly, and with a firm voice, she exclaimed,—“No, Gabong! you cannot deceive me, although you have had your hair cut off since. I am now on the brink of eternity, and I swear, that this man is the murderer of my husband.” She lived but to secure the conviction of the murderer, and her unborn child perished with her.

The traitor Gaboo turning king's evidence, the rest were tried, and Noor John and Gabong found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged: which sentence requiring the confirmation of General Stewart, the English Governor at Columbo, great interest was made by both the Dutch governors for the Prince's life, but in vain; a feeling of great anxiety being evinced by the whole of the Dutch community, to have a public execution of both the criminals. They had their wish, as soon as an answer could be received; and both prisoners were hanged on two gibbets erected in front of the garden, where the deed was perpetrated, in the presence of all the men and most of the women of the place; many Dutch ladies of respectability

being seen in the foremost ranks of spectators, exulting in the agonies of the poor mistaken wretches, who were hurried into eternity. The Prince died hardened in his guilt, and not only refused all ghostly advice or assistance, but even kicked a Malay priest out of his cell; and insisted, that in hanging him for only aiding a fellow-creature in his just revenge, the English would be answerable for all the sins he had ever committed during his life. He was a remarkably handsome, active young man, and his dying struggles lasted for several minutes. Gabong, on the other hand, received the same priest with mildness, even acknowledged his error, prayed to Heaven for forgiveness, and died without a struggle.

Here, as a contrast to the foregoing tale, I cannot help relating a similar occurrence, which terminated in a very different manner. In a part of the suburbs, very little removed from the garden-house in question, there resided two Dutch boors; the one a cadaverous-looking monster, about forty years of age, and the other a fine, healthy, cheerful young man. They were near neighbours, apparent friends, and both carried on the same trade, of retail venders of hollands and other spirituous liquors,—“*Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*” A party of the Royal Artillery had accompanied us to Galle, and our soldiers had found out these enticing, welcome-giving landlords; and whether it was that the young man sold the cheapest liquors, or that John Bull preferred the company of an Adonis to that of Beelzebub, I could not rightly ascertain; but *certainly*, the youngest dealer, in a few days, had all the custom. It was a warm evening, in the month of April, when several

of our soldiers had assembled, to cool themselves with a refreshing draught, at the house of the junior retailer ; when, to their astonishment, the elder came in, and with apparent good humour partook of their fare. Although fond of good liquor, in moderation, our men were by no means drunkards, and at the usual hour they retired, leaving the two rival innkeepers together. At midnight a most dismal hue and cry brought a crowd to the house in question, when the landlord was found extended on the floor, stabbed to the heart, and perfectly dead. A long sharp-pointed knife was found near the body, still reeking with his blood. An instant search was made ; and, crouching in a corner of the next room, Van Beelzebub was found. Dragged forth to the light, and charged with the crime, he solemnly protested his innocence ; but was thrown into prison, and tried for murder. This, however, did not take place till the men who possessed the presumptive proofs I have mentioned had quitted the island ; and the only evidence to the fact was a little girl, the orphan daughter of the deceased, who distinctly stated that she first saw the monster sitting behind her father, drinking, and then saw him strike a blow from behind, which laid her parent lifeless at his feet ; on which she ran out, screaming for assistance. The knife, I think, was also proved to be his property ; but the girl being under age, the evidence was declared faulty ; and at the same time that the two mistaken heathens paid, with their lives, the forfeit for a breach of our law, this nominal christian, this monster, who, without even the horribly palliating circumstances which they could plead, had in cold blood

stabbed a fellow-creature to the heart, was acquitted, and set loose again to repeat his crimes. I need scarcely add, that although the law had released him, he was ever after held in utter detestation by all ranks; and had he not enjoyed a small pension, as a prisoner of war, must have actually starved.

MATURA,

Situated on the bank of a fine river, about thirty-two miles nearly east from Point de Galle, and four miles west from Dunder Head, is a most romantic spot. The town is on the eastern side, having a very pretty little star fort on the western bank of the river, with a wooden bridge across, and a Redan* to cover the town; these two works forming an admirable *tête de pont*. The Government house, as in all these stations, is a very excellent one; and there were several others in good repair, as well as a few delightful plantations up the river. This out-of-the-way place produces some of the finest kinds of fruit on the island, particularly oranges and plantains, which are sent in abundance even to Colombo. Of the latter there is a great variety of species, some of which very much resemble a winter pear in taste; and a small hill mango of exquisite flavour, not larger than a gooseberry. In the vicinity of Matura numerous elephants are annually taken, by being decoyed into an extensive and massy trap, called a Kraale; and all the country round abounds in wild game.†

* A military term for a particular out-work.

† In this neighbourhood I had a most providential escape from two wild buffalos. I was out snipe-shooting, when I saw them tearing along

At Dunder Head there is an old Hindoo temple, and the remains of an extensive stone-pillared choultry; but all the Chingalese are Boodists, having the image in a large building, like our bungalows.

MASULIPATAM.

Having remained at Point de Galle for three years, early in 1799 it was my unhappy lot to be appointed Fort-adjutant and Postmaster at Masulipatam, a place far exceeding Calcutta in heat, without any of its counterbalancing advantages. Of all the semi-infernal stations in the East Indies, the interior of this fort is the most trying to an European constitution. Erected on a low sandy swamp, and having one face washed by a branch of the Kistnah river, it is exactly ten degrees and a half more to the northward than Point de Galle, and three more than Madras. The vicinity to the sea might also have been expected to do something towards cooling the air, but the nature of the soil completely counteracts its balmy effects, and the inhabitants, both inside and out, are in a continual stew from one end of the year to the other. The soldier's usual description is, indeed, extremely apposite; that "there is only a sheet of brown paper between it and Pandemonium!"

towards me; but happily, terror lent me presence of mind enough to force myself through a very thick hedge, and lie down on the other side, where they passed me at full speed, and I saw no more of them. I have, more than once, with ball from a double-barrelled gun, brought down a wild bull with each barrel; but then I was prepared; and the bull cannot be compared with the buffalo, for either strength or fierceness.

The fort is an extensive irregular polygon, with ~~large~~ bastions, and a wide and deep ditch. The works, ~~built~~ of brick, were in excellent repair. An European regiment occupied the barracks, and three native corps were cantoned outside, in the Pettah, which is very extensive, and about a mile and a half in the interior; the communication being over a dreary swamp, now dried up, on which neither tree nor shrub could exist. It being a place of much consequence, and the head-quarters of the northern division, many excellent garden-houses have been built at a distance of two and three miles from the fort, in which all the division staff and civilians resided; but even there, the sand rendered visiting a perfect adventure.

The land wind, which generally blows here from March till August, and very violently all May, coming over an extensive parched plain, is heated to a degree almost incredible, and positively resembles air passing through a furnace. At this time no European is allowed to stand sentry, and even natives perish by exposure to the blasting influence of this Eastern sirocco; in which birds frequently fall down dead, while passing through it. The greatest heat generally commences about eight or nine o'clock, A.M., and lasts, sometimes, with increasing force, till noon, or even three, P.M., when a lull is succeeded by a faint sea-breeze, and the poor parched and panting inhabitants begin to revive. In May, 1799, the thermometer within a solid house, with wet tats at the doors and windows, rose to 120°; and all the inferior buildings must have had it up to 130°. We were actually in 'a fever during it's continuance; but this was only for one day; a



PALLAMCOTTAH.

succession of such must have annihilated the whole garrison. Even with a sea-breeze, the nights were always close and suffocating; yet this place is not considered so unhealthy as it is disagreeable.

PALLAMCOTTAH.

Having been promoted in the end of the year 1799, and removed to the 1st battalion of the 3d regiment, a corps in the southern division, I then retraced my steps, through Madras, Trichinopoly, and Madura, to the Tinnevely district, and joining the southern field force, as Quarter-master of brigade, encamped near Pallamcottah, which was at that time the head-quarters of the district. The fort is situated upon a fertile plain, about two miles from the river, with a clear nullah running a short distance from the walls. It is about two miles in circumference, nearly square, with two rows of works all round it, but no ditch; the inner rampart much higher than the outer one, and the whole having small round bastions, and short curtains, with four gateways in the middle of the faces, covered by square redoubts; the two to the west and south being closed up. A capital road led from the northern gate to the towns of Tinnevely and Tatchenoor, across the river by a ford, always passable, excepting during a few days in the north-east monsoon. Some pleasantly situated garden-houses were close to the road leading to the river, and the whole of the surrounding country being well watered and wooded, was highly picturesque and beautiful.

The town of Tinnevely, or Tirnawelly, as the natives call it, is very large, and contains many wealthy Hindoo

merchants ; and Tachénoor, which is much smaller, ~~has~~ a cavalry cantonment formed near it. The river has its rise among some lofty mountains to the westward, and has the attraction of a very beautiful cascade, about thirty-two miles off, at a place called

PAPANASSUM.

Parties from below have traced the river above the fall for about eleven miles, in the midst of woody hills and deep jungle, but the exact source of it is, I believe, unknown. The cascade itself is truly grand ; it is not very broad, but falls from a very considerable height, in one large stream, into an unfathomable pool, from whence a new river seems to issue, meandering through a plain nearly level with the sea. The sound of the fall is distinctly heard for a very great distance, even in the dry season ; and about a mile from it is a handsome substantial Pagoda, built upon the bank, with several elegant stone choultries and steps down to the water's edge ; where river fish, of all sorts and sizes, are to be caught, and tame carp from one to two, and even nearly three feet, come to the surface to be fed. There is also the ruin of a building here, asserted to have been the Palace of the famous Trimulnaig of Madura, in whose kingdom all Tinnevely was then included. This is, indeed, altogether one of the wildest and most beautiful spots I have ever seen ; and the neighbourhood abounds in game, particularly pea-fowl, tigers, and wild hogs. I have spent a month at a time in this sequestered retreat, merely putting up tent walls between the pillars of the choultries, and burning fires at night to keep off the tigers ; but it



can be visited with safety, only between the months of May and August, or September ; as at all other times a dangerous hill-fever is extremely prevalent.

COURTALLUM.

There is another river, and another cascade, in the same range of mountains, about thirty miles to the north of the last mentioned, and forty miles in a direct line from Pal-lamcottah. The features of the falls, as well as of the surrounding objects, are, however, vastly different, though both possess beauties peculiar to themselves. Here the fall is not near so high, but it is twice as broad ; and is again so subdivided by projecting rocks, that one part of it answers all the purpose of a shower-bath, and is much frequented for that purpose both by Europeans and natives. Here, also, although many beautiful forest-trees are left, to give life to the picture ; the country is well cultivated, and there are many gentlemen's seats in the neighbourhood, which, however, can be inhabited only between the months already mentioned. There is a beautiful avenue, of some miles in length, as far as the fall ; and several picturesque Pagodas and choultries, even to the very foot of it. Above the fall, tracing a wild, rugged foot-path, in a steep acclivity, between two mountains, with the river, a small insignificant stream, winding through rocks and bushes, the enterprising visitor will find a cave, about five miles from the foot of the cascade, called Paradise. This is formed by nature ; and the contrast, after climbing a steep hill, exposed to a meridian sun, may well entitle it to such an appellation. It appeared to me to be twenty or thirty

degrees cooler than the country below ; and here we found many trees growing wild, which could not thrive at the bottom ; particularly lichees, a Chinese fruit ; and a tree like the English horse-chesnut. This place is, however, so infested by tigers, that it behoves all visitors to go well armed. It is, of course, by no means surprising, that this delightful watering-place should be frequented in the hot months by the inhabitants of Madura and Quilon, as well as Pallamcottah, it being equi-distant from both, nearly seventy miles ; from the latter by a pass in the hills, which separate the two countries of the eastern and western coasts, called the Arangowl Ghaut ; and from the former by a direct road.

On the opposite side from Pallamcottah, and nearly at the same distance on the sea coast, lies

TUTUCORINE,

A handsome harbour for small vessels, protected by an island about a mile from the shore, and a place of considerable trade with Ceylon, when in the possession of the Dutch. It has a large fortified factory, washed by the sea ; and a neat little town, the front street of which, on the sea shore, has some good houses in it. As it is but a short distance from the Pearl and Chauk Banks, in the Gulf of Manaar, the native inhabitants, about five thousand in number, are mostly fishermen and Christians ; and when the season is over, they catch fish in great abundance, which, being salted, are carried into the interior for sale. Their Christianity, however, is debased by a conjunction of Roman Catholic and Heathen idolatry, quite



1 2 3 4

^a 10^{-3} mol/L. ^b 10^{-3} mol/L. ^c 10^{-3} mol/L.

distressing to behold ; added to which, their principal European qualification is dram-drinking, which they carry to excess. And as the pure Hindoos deck out and carry in procession an annual car, called Rutt, or Tare, so these mongrel heathens have a similar car, decorated with images of our blessed Saviour and his Virgin Mother, surrounded by little cherubim, which they drag through the town on Christmas day and at Easter. From this place the passage by sea to Columbo is performed in one or two days ; the Gulf always having strong winds blowing, either up or down, which are equally available going or returning.

Besides the Factory-house, which was a very roomy, well finished, and remarkably cool habitation, the Dutch Governor had a garden-house situated in a sandy jungle, about three miles inland ; a situation which, *certes*, no Englishman would ever have chosen ; and where, unless De Heer Van Donder were a keen sportsman, he must have slumbered away a very dull existence.

I have, however, frequently shot hares and partridges in it's neighbourhood, in spite of it's close atmosphere, and under a vertical sun ; but never attempted to breathe the closer climate of the interior.

THE POLIGAR WAR.

On the 2d of February, 1801, while our force was cantoned at Shangarnacoile, about thirty miles to the eastward, and the whole of the remaining community, about twenty ladies and gentlemen, were dining at Major Macaulay's garden-house at Pallamcottah, a number of Poligar prisoners confined in the fort, made their escape by overpow-

ering their own guard and the one at the fort-gate, whom they disarmed. As men of consequence and state prisoners, they had been hitherto kept in irons and very strictly guarded ; but the small-pox having recently broken out amongst them, their chains had been removed a few days before. This evening a number of their adherents in disguise, and with concealed weapons, had entered the fort, and, at a preconcerted signal, forced the prison-gate, whilst the prisoners attacked the two sentries in front. A few of the guard were wounded, and the whole instantly disarmed ; when the prisoners, seizing the musquets of their *ci-devant* gaolers, headed their adherents, and rushing on the gate-guard, succeeded in overpowering them ; when passing through the gates, they made such good use of their heels that, before morning, they had arrived at Panjallum-coorchy, a distance of thirty miles ; having surprised and disarmed nearly one hundred men at different stages on the road, and, at one place, an entire company, under a native officer. In their haste to secure a safe retreat, they, however, let slip the fairest opportunity they ever could have enjoyed of crippling our force, for the party assembled at our Commandant's included the civilians of the station, all the staff-officers, and several others of the force ; the house was protected by a Naigue's guard only, and not above a mile out of their route ; and there we must all have perished, unprepared and unresisting, since they were several hundreds strong, even before they left the place. Unaware of the extent of the mischief, small parties were sent out, as soon as they could be collected, to overtake the fugitives, and lucky it was for them that they returned

unsuccessful. Indeed, all the Sepoys then in Pallamcottah would have been inadequate for that purpose.

The next day measures were concerted, and the troops ordered to march immediately from Shangarnacoile, thirty miles to the eastward, to Kyetaur, twenty-one miles northward; and all the officers, proceeding from Pallamcottah, joined at that place on the 6th, attended by a party of eight-and-twenty of the Nabob's cavalry, who were mounted on gentlemen's horses volunteered for the purpose. A body of European cavalry had originally formed a part of the southern field-force, and, with some infantry corps, had been only lately removed, under an appearance of perfect tranquillity being established in this hitherto turbulent district. Our force was therefore consequently now reduced to nine hundred firelocks, and all Native, excepting a detachment of Bengal artillery, with two six, and two four-pounders. On the morning of February 8th, having marched half-way the day before, the detachment reached the village of Cullyanellore, nineteen miles from Kyetaur. The camp was formed in a small square, and all hands were preparing to enjoy a hearty meal, when a body of Poligars, to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred, armed with musquets, pikes, and swords, made their appearance on a rising ground in front of the line, and, inclining to the right and left, made a simultaneous attack on three faces. The small village, situated about a mile in the rear, had been previously taken possession of by our picquets; and while we were employed in front by the first assailants, a body of the enemy, advancing under cover of a deep ravine, immediately attacked it. Although many

of our men, being new drafts and recruits, had never seen a shot fired, yet the whole behaved well, except the Nakhos cavalry, who would not charge even a small party of the enemy, and we began to wish we had our horses back again. In about an hour, however, the Poligars withdrew, leaving forty dead upon the field, and carrying off their wounded; they were not pursued very far, and all was quiet again in our little camp by noon. Our loss was not more than six men, a proof of the bad firing of the enemy. The post in the village was strengthened, being a kind of key to our position, and all remained perfectly quiet, till about nine o'clock at night, when a peal of musquetry, in the direction of the village, again roused us; an attempt being made to surprise that post, which was, however, completely foiled before a reinforcement could arrive to its relief. After a sleepless night, we marched the next morning, and reached a plain close to Panjalumcoorchy by nine o'clock, when, to our utter astonishment, we discovered that the walls, which had been entirely levelled, were now rebuilt, and fully manned by about fifteen hundred Poligars.

Without a single battering-gun, and, I may add, without even a few Europeans to lead the storming-party, to have attempted to take the place in open day would have been next to madness: a spot of ground was therefore selected near the village of Wotapadarum, about a mile from the fort, and there we formed our camp, in a square, with high grain to the northward; the bund, or bank, of a tank to the southward; the village near the eastern face, and Panjalumcoorchy opposite to the west. After taking some little



rest and refreshment, it was proposed to form the detachment into two storming-parties, and to escalate the works at two different points, as soon as darkness should conceal our approach from the enemy. A short time after, some of our scouts came in, with the agreeable intelligence that the Poligars, now amounting to five thousand, were prepared to assault our camp at nightfall. Here then was an unlooked-for occurrence: in the first place, we were opposed by a strong fort, raised, as it were by magic, in six days; and, in the second, its defenders, increased beyond all possible calculation, were likely to become the assailants. It was decided, therefore, *nem. con.* that we had no business to remain there; and as both men and officers were already nearly exhausted, by two grilling marches and a sleepless night, it was doubtful whether they could keep awake another, to receive with due alacrity such a nocturnal visit as was in contemplation. The troops were therefore warned, and at two o'clock P. M. being formed an oblong square, the baggage in the centre, and field-pieces distributed in front and rear, we drew out, as if preparing to assault the fort. In an instant every part of the works was manned, and we could plainly discern a body of fifteen hundred or two thousand men outside of the boundary hedge, their long spears glittering in the sun. As soon as the formation was completed, we commenced our march, not for the Fort, but for Pallamcottah, and had actually accomplished a third of our journey, when we were overtaken in the dark, by a body of the enemy, who rushed on us with shouts and screams, almost to the bayonet. The rear-face of our column, for it was now no longer a square,

was luckily composed of the grenadiers of the 1st Battalion of the 3d regiment, with the two six-pounders under Captain Vesey. He allowed them to approach without molestation, the more fully to effect his purpose, when, giving the word himself, a couple of volleys, poured in with grape and musquetry, levelled one hundred and ten of our assailants; the astonished remainder made a very precipitate escape, and we were no more molested during a long and severe march, which lasted all night, than by imagination, which placed an enemy behind every bush on the road. Our loss on this occasion was only two men and a woman, and we safely reached Pallamcottah at nine o'clock A.M. on the 10th.

Matters thus remained *in statu quo*, while troops were pouring in from various quarters, till the 27th, when a detachment composed of three companies of the 9th regiment, one of the 2d battalion of the 16th, and two of the Martinz battalion, under the command of Captain Hazard, attacked the fort of Cadulgoody, supposed to be weak, and ill defended. Our opponents, however, got intelligence of the march, in sufficient time to send a body of two thousand men to assist the defenders, and our men were consequently so well received, that after every exertion that bravery and discipline could oppose to number, they were compelled to retreat, leaving three men killed and eighteen wounded on the ground; the loss of the enemy was never ascertained. It may naturally be concluded, that while we were reinforcing our detachment from a distance, the insurgents, who had their resources nearer at hand, were not idle; but rising in various quarters, they possessed themselves

of forts, arms, &c. in so active a manner, that we hardly ever knew where to find them.

The southern Poligars, a race of rude warriors, habituated to arms and independence, had been but lately subdued, and those of Panjalumcoorchy, were the hardest and bravest of the whole. Their chief, called Cátábomiá Naig, having successfully defended the fort against a force under Colonel Bannerman two years before, had at length been taken prisoner, with the rest of his family, and kept in close confinement. It is not for me to decide upon the justice or policy of such a measure, but I should have thought liberality and kindness would have been the best way to secure their allegiance. While their chiefs were condemned to a perpetual and ignominious imprisonment, the fort of Panjalumcoorchy was ordered to be razed to the ground, with some others of less note. Such treatment to a high-spirited people was not much calculated to win their affections, and the indignities to which individuals were subjected by the native servants of the Collector, adding fuel to the fire, the whole burst out at once, and for a season bore down all before them.

On the 3d of March the detachment proceeded to Kye-taur, twenty-one miles distant, and took up ground in such a position, as to allow the different reinforcements to join us. Having no opponents out of our camp, the enemy made good use of their time, and seized on Tutucoryn, where a young subaltern commanded with a company of Sepoys. Unfortunately, he was unacquainted with any native language; and while he was defending the fort on one side, the native officer under him capitulated, and ad-

mitted the enemy on the other. In proof, however, of the noble spirit of these untutored savages, they treated the officer with the utmost kindness; and without exacting any promise from him, permitted his embarkation in a fishing boat, for an English settlement. The Sepoys they merely disarmed, and set at liberty; and searching in the town for ammunition, &c., came upon a Mr. Baggott, an Englishman, who was Master-attendant, and carried him off a prisoner. His wife immediately followed them unmolested into the fort, where the *Cat*, as he was always called, had taken up his head quarters; and petitioning for her husband's life, he was instantly set at liberty, and his property ordered to be restored. The Dutch they considered as neutral, and not a man of them was ever molested in any way.

This was the infamous *Cátábómia Naug*, who had lately been confined in irons, and treated with every indignity; upon whose head a price was set, and who was, on no condition, to receive any quarter, if found in arms.

Having been both a public staff and regimental officer, which afforded me the fullest means of obtaining accurate information, I am induced to enter more into detail on this occasion; because I do not believe that any account of this service has ever been given to the public; and it was customary, while gallant fellows were falling, covered with glorious wounds, to put down the casualty in our newspapers, as if they had died in their beds, thus:—
“Deaths. Lately, to the southward, Captain ———, or Lieutenant ———!” &c. &c.

While several of our small posts in the surrounding

Country fell into the hands of the enemy, by which means they had captured nearly one thousand musquets, with their ammunition; one solitary Pagoda, slightly fortified, on the bank of the river, about fifteen miles below Pallamcottah, held out beyond example, or expectation. To relieve this brave handful, Major Sheppard marched, at the head of the 1st battalion of the 3d regiment, with two six-pounders. Arriving at Pallamcottah, on the 13th of March, the heavy baggage was thrown in there, and on the morning of the 16th they came in sight of the Pagoda of Strevgundum, on the opposite side of the river, and were immediately attacked by swarms of the enemy; through whom they forced their way to their comrades on the opposite shore. All the troops behaved well, particularly the grenadiers, who charged a large body of the enemy, and put them to flight. The Poligars, intent on capturing the place, had beset it on every side, and raised a large mound of earth to overlook the Pagoda. They were also busy in making scaling ladders for an escalade, when our corps relieved them. The garrison was withdrawn, and on the march back to Pallamcottah, the enemy annoyed them the whole way, though repeatedly charged by our soldiers. Our loss was not so heavy as might have been expected, and the corps remained resting at Pallamcottah, till the stores necessary for a siege could be collected.

On the 27th of March the battalion and stores reached Kytaur, and the other detachments joining, the whole force was composed as follows :—

A detachment of Pioneers, under the command of Captain Bagshaw.

A detachment of the Bengal artillery,—Lieutenant Graham.

Two companies of His Majesty's 74th regiment,—Captain John Campbell.

One troop of the Governor's body guard,—Lieutenant James Grant.

One troop of the 1st regiment of Native cavalry,—Lieutenant Lyne.

First battalion 3d regiment Native infantry,—Major Sheppard.

Five companies 1st battalion 4th Native infantry,—Captain Nagle.

Six companies 1st battalion 14th Native infantry,—Captain N. Smith.

Three companies 1st battalion 9th Native infantry,—Captain Hazard.

One company 2d battalion 16th Native infantry,—Captain D. Macdonald.

Three companies 1st battalion 13th Native infantry,—Captain G. Lang.

With two 12-pounders, one 18-pounder, and two 5½-inch howitzers ; and two 6-pounder, and two 4-pounder old field-pieces.

The whole amounting to nearly three thousand men, under the command of Major Colin Macaulay, who was also Resident to the Rajah of Travancore.

Our first march was to Wotrampetty, only eight miles ; the second to Peshavunthally, eight miles also, on the road to which we first encountered the enemy ; a body of five or six hundred of whom appeared shortly after we left our ground, and boldly advanced to meet us, on which the

Major ordered the cavalry to charge them. The two troops, having rear and flank guards out, did not amount to more than ninety men, if so many*; but they were led by James Grant, one of the finest and bravest fellows I ever knew. They had two small galloper guns with them, which were fired as the enemy approached, and this first appeared to induce them to retire, which they did leisurely, keeping up a running fight; though it was evident that the men who had fire-arms were most anxious to escape. When our cavalry had got within a few hundred yards, Lieutenant Grant gave the words "Saint George, and Charge!" the enemy at the same time halting, faced about, and presented an abbatis of pikes to the horses' breasts; but so great was the impetus, that in an instant this formidable phalanx was borne down, and our men were afterwards engaged in single combat with these brave but unskilful pedestrians, until a thick wood luckily intervened, through which they made their escape. The ground, being what is called in India "black cotton," with the shrub actually growing on it, was very unfavourable for our men, and so determined was the resistance, that Lieutenant Grant fell, wounded with a pike through the lungs; and his subadar, Sheik Ebraum, and four troopers were killed. Lieutenant Lyne lost his horse, a very powerful animal; a Naigue and eleven troopers were wounded; and

* Lieutenant Knowles, Brigade Major, and myself, the Major's two staff officers, obtained permission to join this small party; it was my first charge with cavalry, and I found myself, with a staff sword, much inferior to any sepoy trooper. The Major, following us with his orderly havildar, came into the thick of the business, and was nearly paying with his life for this act of temerity, his orderly killing a fellow that attacked him.

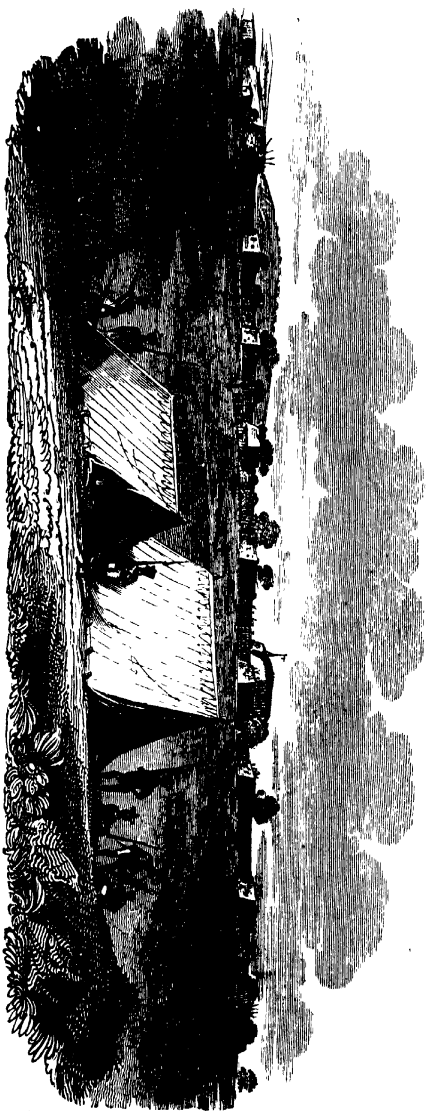
two horses were killed, and twelve wounded. Of the enemy, ninety-six dead bodies were counted on the field; what number of wounded they carried off, of course could not be ascertained. Grant killed four with his own hand, the last after he had received his desperate wound; and his subadar also killed four or five before he fell. Sheik Ebraum* was one of the noblest soldiers in our native army; attached to, and beloved by his European officers, no enterprise was too difficult for his daring spirit. He was emulating his beloved commander, when he fell covered with wounds. Still I have known many Sheik Ebraums in the service, but very few James Grants. The next day, the 31st of March, we advanced towards the Gibraltar of these insurgents, and as we were detained a considerable time in it's neighbourhood, I may as well bring it at once to the reader's acquaintance.

PUNJALUMCOORCHY,

An irregular parallelogram, two sides of which were about five hundred feet, and the other two about three hundred only, built entirely of mud, of a very solid and adhesive quality, presented so very unwarlike an object to the eye, that some of our soldiers, at first sight, compared it to "a kail yard, with a dike about it." The wall was generally about twelve feet high, with small square bastions, and very short curtains. A few old guns were mounted in these bastions, and the whole was surrounded by a thick hedge of cockspur thorns, but no ditch. Arriving before it at eight o'clock A.M., preparations were instantly made

* Ibrahim is the proper name, but Englishmen pronounce it Ebraum; it is the Oriental designation of the Hebrew Patriarch, Abraham.

PUNJAL MCCOORCHY.



for breaching the north-western bastion, with the two iron twelve, and one eight-pounder, from a bank about nine hundred yards distance ; and at half-past eight we opened a fire, though by no means so destructive as was anticipated. The eight-pounder, indeed, a foreign gun, fired so wild, that the shot seldom hit the fort. At noon, therefore, the guns were moved on to another bank, about four hundred yards from the wall, and continued playing till half-past three, when the breach appearing practicable, the storm was ordered. The two howitzers and two six-pounders had also been firing on the fort from a bank to the northward ; but the shells were so bad, and the fuses so miserable, that few of them burst, or did any execution.

The party for assault was composed of the two companies of the 74th regiment, all the native grenadiers, and a battalion company of the 3d ; the whole line being close to them, disposed to the right and left, to keep down the enemy's fire. They advanced with alacrity, under the heaviest fire imaginable, from the curtains and five or six bastions, the defences of which we had not been able to demolish ; our men fell rapidly, but nothing impeded their approach ; even the hedge was speedily passed, and repeated attempts were made to surmount the breach, but all in vain. Every man who succeeded in reaching the summit was instantly thrown back, pierced with wounds, from both pikes and musquetry, and no footing could be gained. At length a retreat was ordered, and a truly dismal scene of horror succeeded, all our killed, and many of the wounded being left at the foot of the breach, over which the enemy immediately sprung, and pursued the rear,

while others pierced the bodies both of the dying and the dead.

The immediate defence of the breach was with pikes, from eighteen to twenty feet long, behind which, a body of men from an elevated spot, kept up a constant fire, whilst others in the bastions took the assailants in flank. In the confusion of the moment a howitzer was left near the breach, which was afterwards rescued by six officers and about fifty sepoy, under a fire, which killed one of the officers and several of the men, and wounded two other officers, and five or six men. And here let me record the personal bravery and devotion of Captain Nicholas Mathew Smith, the first man who reached the gun, and whose example stimulated the rest; he was a fine honest fellow, and a good soldier, but, with the noble James Grant and several others, he has since paid the debt of nature. Our total loss this day was four officers and forty-nine men, killed; and thirteen officers and two hundred and fifty-four men, wounded; besides several slight cases, not reported. Of the enemy's loss we had no account. No sooner had we gained a safe distance from the fort, than the line was formed, and encamping ground marked out; the nearest part being at a distance of 1,500 yards from the walls. We had a high ridge in the centre of the line, running parallel to the fort, and our ammunition and stores were placed in the rear, out of sight of the enemy. Our picquets were posted on the bank from whence we first attempted to breach, and it was completely dark before we could get under cover.

As all had alike partaken in the dangers and discomfiture

of the day, a dead silence reigned throughout our line, the only tribute we could then pay to the memory of our departed brethren ; and the enemy so far respected our grief, as to allow us it's unmolested indulgence.

To a mind accustomed to think, our total failure of this day was perfectly inexplicable, and how the breach was defended appeared almost miraculous ; for none of the actual defenders ever shewed themselves above the broken parapet, and certainly that was entirely destroyed, and a practicable passage apparently made to the *terre plein* of the bastion, long previous to our attack. Yet here a grove of pikes alone presented itself to our view ; and the enemy appearing in every other part of the works, exposing themselves without the smallest reservation, were constantly shot by our men, who were covering the storm, and as constantly replaced by others ; whilst they kept up a most unnatural yell the whole time, from upwards of five thousand voices, which only ceased with our retreat. Of one hundred and twenty Europeans on the storming party, only forty-six escaped unhurt ; and, including officers and artillery, one hundred and six were killed and wounded of the whole force. This was so very large a proportion, as to make the duty come heavy on the survivors for a considerable time, when our disheartened men required a constant and undeviating example of that cheerful devotedness to their duty, which can alone secure the confidence of soldiers in times of unusual difficulty and danger.

Of the 74th regiment, Lieutenants Campbell and Shanks were killed ; Captain Campbell mortally wounded ; Lieutenant Fletcher badly. Of the 3d, Lieutenant Egan

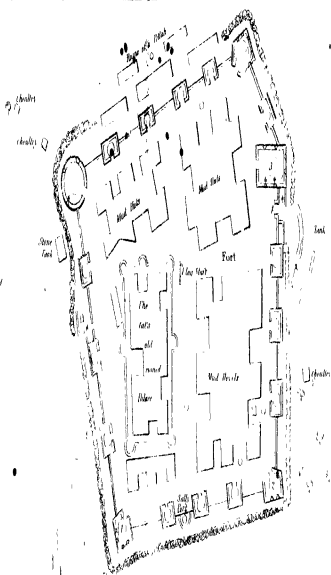
killed ; Major Sheppard, Lieutenant Greaves, and Doctor Barter, wounded. Of the 4th, Lieutenant Magnell killed ; and Lieutenant Clapham wounded. Of the 9th, Lieutenant Torriano mortally, and Captain Hazard wounded. Of the 13th, Lieutenant Norris wounded. Of the 1st, battalion of the 14th, Lieutenants Elliot, Brown, Wright, and M'Kay, wounded. I should have mentioned, that a body of one thousand Eteapoor Poligars, hereditary enemies of the Panjalumcoorchy race, had joined us on the march, having a company of sepoys, and Captain Charles Trotter, attached to them. These brave and faithful allies made some unsuccessful attempts at an escalade on the other side of the fort, whilst we were on the west face, but were repulsed with considerable loss ; though we had no official returns of their casualties. This circumstance alone proves how numerous the defenders must have been.

The 1st of April was ushered in with the painful recollection, that many of our late gay and cheerful companions were lying at the foot of the breach unburied ; and a flag of truce was consequently sent to the fort, to entreat permission to remove and inter our dead. This was kindly and unconditionally accorded ; and we then collected the disfigured and gory bodies, and buried them in the evening, with military honours : the enemy, setting us a bright example of humanity, made not the smallest attempt to disturb us, and we enjoyed a good night's rest ; that of the preceding having been any thing but refreshing.

Perfectly convinced that our present measures were utterly inadequate to the capture of a place so defended, Major Macaulay, who had shared every danger with his

References

- A. A block of wood $1.22 \times 10^3 \text{ kg}$ is released on the right of the 15° slope to break the West Face of the El Yunque
- B. The impact velocity of a $10 \times 10^3 \text{ kg}$ boulder which played the role of the 15° of El Yunque to break the E. Face of the El Yunque
- C. A $1.22 \times 10^3 \text{ kg}$ boulder which rolled on the El Yunque to break the El Yunque
- D. The duration of $1.22 \times 10^3 \text{ kg}$ boulder, it was used on the El Yunque to break the El Yunque
- E. The El Yunque
- F. The El Yunque
- G. The El Yunque
- H. The El Yunque
- I. The El Yunque
- J. The El Yunque
- K. The El Yunque
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- V. The El Yunque
- W. The El Yunque
- X. The El Yunque
- Y. The El Yunque
- Z. The El Yunque



Dear Robert from the
Middle of April
All the way

PLAN OF FUNJALUMCOORCEY.

lower

Drawn by Sarah Nott

Published by Cynthia Elder & Co. the Cornish

troops, and luckily came off unhurt, determined to turn the siege into a blockade, as far as the actual state of affairs would permit, and thus await reinforcements, particularly of battering guns and ammunition; for this purpose, the Pioneers, dooly-bearers, and lascars, were employed to make temporary shelter for the arms of the men on duty, with small breast-works, &c.; and the camp was regularly formed, in an oblong square, having the ridge in the centre, with a high tank bank in the rear; a tank of fine water on the left, and a larger one, for watering cattle, on the right.

The 2d of April passed in quiet, excepting that the Poligars several times called out, when any of us approached, and demanded an amnesty; declaring their readiness to obey the British government, and pay their kists, but protesting against the imprisonment of their chiefs. The reply we were instructed to give was, that "we could not treat with rebels in arms; that they must deliver up all their chiefs, and lay down their arms, unconditionally." This evening, while sitting at dinner, we were suddenly saluted, about eight o'clock, by a shower of bullets, and found the enemy determined to keep us employed. It was remarkably dark, and we were not fully aware of their numbers and intentions till the moon rose, when they were perceived retiring, after having wasted a good deal of ammunition, and wounded Lieutenant Lyne of the cavalry very severely, and five men, in our camp.

From this time, till the 22d, nothing occurred worth notice. We had daily skirmishes, in which a few men fell on both sides, and our Pioneers, &c. were busily employed in strengthening our outposts, and in raising a kind of

breastwork, to resist cannon shot, which the enemy sent into our camp from some old guns, drawn out under the walls of the fort for that purpose. At noon, this day, a heavy thunder-storm, accompanied by wind and rain, suddenly assailed us; and as such a time was the most favourable in which to oppose pikes to fire-arms, we began to fall in; when, in a twinkling, the thunder was succeeded by the flash and sound of our six-pounder on the most distant outpost, and a strong party dashed towards it immediately. This post consisted of a company of Sepoys, with a party of artillery, and one gun, on the bund of a large tank, five or six hundred yards to the southward of the fort, and one thousand two hundred from our nearest post. Lieutenant H. Dey, who had been ordered down, with a company of the 3d, to relieve a similar party of the 9th under Lieutenant Clason, noon being the time of removing all our outposts, observing an unusual collection of clouds, and sagaciously auguring therefrom the probability of a storm, being senior officer, had very sensibly taken upon himself to detain the other company. The squall approached, beating in their faces, and was immediately followed by one thousand pikemen. Our poor fellows, assailed by two such enemies at once, strove to give a fire, but hardly a musquet would go off; and the gun, after being discharged once only, was in the enemy's possession. The Poligars, more intent on seizing the ordnance, than on injuring its defenders, wounded only eight men of the party, and were pushing off with their prize as fast as the wet cotton ground would permit, when our reinforcements appearing, Lieutenants Dey and Clason

rushed back, accompanied by many of their men, and we succeeded in rescuing our cannon from the hands of the Philistines, although many hundreds more rushed out of the fort to their assistance; and, as the rain ceased, they poured out multitudes with fire-arms, who being confronted as readily by similar parties from our camp, a general action ensued, which, I may well say, ended in smoke; both parties making much noise, and neither doing much execution. After about an hour's fighting, as if with one accord, the firing ceased; both parties retired to count their casualties, of which the most serious tally must have been ball cartridges.

This night, about nine o'clock, we were roused by another thunder-storm, when all hands were again beat to quarters. In a short time faint flashes of fire-arms could be discerned through the gloom, in the direction of all our outposts; and now and then the report of a cannon added to the horrors of the darkness. A general attack with pikes was now anticipated in every part of the line, and no one could tell what was going on, on either side of him. Our anxiety was to preserve the arms from damp; but this, from the violence of the rain, proved impossible, and all stood wet to the skin, enjoying, in delightful anticipation, a thrust through the body from a pike, as sharp as a razor, and only twenty feet long. At this critical juncture a body of two or three hundred men came rushing on the line, with dreadful cries, and were within an inch of being treated as enemies, when they were discovered to be Pioneers, Lascars, and Coolies, who had been at work on an intended battery, within four hundred and fifty yards

of the fort, and, to their eternal disgrace, a few Sepoys, who had shamefully abandoned their posts in terror and dismay ; these latter were instantly placed in confinement. The Pioneers had been exposed without arms, or any protection ; had been actually assaulted in the battery, and their sand bags, &c. carried off in triumph ; nor was it, indeed, intended that they should attempt to defend themselves. In about two hours the weather cleared up ; and though the numbers of the enemy, who had sallied forth, could not be ascertained, yet tranquillity was then restored, and not again disturbed that night.

The next day, having only seen three faces of the fort, Major Macaulay, determined on a strong reconnoissance, and proceeded round it, out of reach of musquetry from the walls, accompanied by the cavalry, and the 1st battalion of the 3d regiment. The enemy, ever on the alert, manned the walls, and sent a few cannon shot among us, but did no damage, as they seemed to apprehend an assault on the opposite face ; but we had no sooner passed, than they began to come out, and attempted to impede our return, though too late to interfere with our real design. The cavalry having now, four six-pounders as gallopers, therefore, merely gave them a few rounds, and then we retired at leisure.

From this time till the 19th of May, nothing remarkable occurred ; every two or three days, skirmishes, provoked by our followers, ended in nearly the same manner as those already mentioned ; and we daily lost some men without being sure of the damage done to the enemy. Altogether, indeed, we lost about sixty in this quiet period,

which, considering all matters, was a very small proportion, for the Poligars had now brought a nine-pounder and a three to bear upon us, which they plied from the traverses of the north and south gates, and much were we indebted to Providence for the numerous escapes made in a crowded camp, through which the shot ranged from front to rear, without doing much damage. During this time, however, we were not idle ourselves, since our cannon daily sent a few dozens of heavy shot into the fort, which we flattered ourselves could not fail to do execution. We also constructed a tower twenty paces long and fifteen broad, within six hundred yards of the western face, which being about sixteen feet high, might likewise answer as a breaching battery. Here we placed a guard of sixty men, and it was an object of much jealousy to the enemy, who did all they could to retard it's progress. It was about one hundred and fifty yards from the old work, which the enemy destroyed on the night of the 22d of April; and when completed, the two twelve-pounders were mounted in it. About this time we got accounts of the approach of Lieutenant-colonel Agnew, with reinforcements, and on the 21st of May he arrived with Captain John Munro, Major of brigade, and Captain Marshall, Private Secretary, and personal Brigade-major, and immediately determined on the point of attack. We were fired on while reconnoitering, and had two men wounded. On the 22nd his Majesty's 77th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Spry, a company of artillery under Captain Sir John Sinclair, three companies of the 1st battalion of the 7th regiment under Captain C. Godfrey, and four com-

panies of the 1st battalion of the 13th regiment under Captain Townsend, also joined our camp, with four iron eighteen-pounders, two five-and-a-half, and two four-and-a-half inch howitzers, and abundance of ammunition. In addition to which, the 1st regiment of light cavalry under Captain J. Doveton, and one hundred and fifty Malays under Captain Whitley, also arrived this evening. On the 22nd of May, the Colonel having again reconnoitred with Sir John Sinclair and Lieutenant Bradley of the Engineers, determined on our post on the south bank, for a breaching battery: three people were killed by cannon shot this day, and we got the four eighteen-pounders and two howitzers, with two six-pounders, into the battery.

I must here mention, that our fellow-soldiers who arrived yesterday, held the fort and enemy in much contempt, and seemed to think that we had not previously done our duty.

On the morning of the 23d of May at sun-rise, we opened two batteries at once, on the south-western bastion of the fort. Our tower, breaching, &c. with two twelve-pounders and two howitzers; while the grand battery favoured them with salvos which soon demolished the southern faces and salient angle of the bastion. By noon the storming party was ready to advance, but our old commandant took Colonel Agnew aside, and backed by another old friend, persuaded him to delay the assault until the next day, much against what appeared to him his better judgment. The firing was therefore kept up all night to prevent the enemy from repairing the breach. The next morning the guns were all turned to demolish the defences,

and cut off the breached bastion, which being completely effected, at one o'clock P. M. having run the tower guns half way down to the fort, the storming party was ordered to advance.

It consisted of the grenadiers and a battalion company of the 74th regiment, the grenadiers' light company, and a battalion company of the 77th, the grenadiers of the 3rd, 4th, 7th, 13th, and 14th regiments, the Malays and a detachment of the 9th.

Notwithstanding this formidable array, with the whole force ready to back them, the defenders shrunk not from their duty, but received our brave fellows with renewed vigour, and the breach was so stoutly defended, that although the hedge was passed in a few minutes, it was nearly half an hour before a man of our's could stand upon the summit: while bodies of the enemy, not only fired on our storming party from the broken bastions on both flanks, but others sallied round and attacked them in the space within the hedge. At length, after a struggle of fifteen minutes in this position, the whole of the enemy in the breach being killed by hand-grenades, and heavy shot thrown over among them, our grenadiers succeeded in mounting the breach, and the resistance afterwards was of no avail: although one body of pikemen charged our grenadiers in the body of the place, and killed three of them. Our cavalry, now under the command of Captain Doveton, with James Grant, barely recovered from his wound, had been posted with four gallopers, near the eastern face, to arrest the fugitives.

A general panic now seized the enemy, and they fled

from their assailants as fast as possible ; but no sooner had they got clear of the fort, than they formed into two solid columns, and thus retreated ; beset, but not dismayed, by our cavalry, who attacked them in flank and rear, and succeeded in cutting off six hundred. The remainder, however, made good their retreat, and a column of about two thousand ultimately escaped. Four hundred and fifty dead bodies of the enemy were also found in the fort ; those killed on former occasions having been disposed of outside, to the eastward.

Our loss on this day was Lieutenant Gilchrist, of the 74th, a remarkably fine young man, and a most gallant soldier, who had distinguished himself so much, as to be beloved by the whole force. Lieutenants Spalding and Campbell of the 77th, and Lieutenant Fraser of the 4th, killed. Lieutenant McClean, Scotch Brigade, Captain Whitley of the Malays, Lieutenant Valentine Blacker of the 1st Cavalry, Lieutenant Campbell of the 74th, and Lieutenant Birch of the 4th, wounded. Lieutenant Blacker was piked in two or three places ; but emulating James Grant, who was always the foremost in danger, he would not desist, until our trumpets had sounded the recall. Europeans, killed nineteen, and wounded seventy-six. Natives, killed twenty-four, and wounded ninety-six ; making a total, including officers, of two hundred and twenty-three.

To us, who had suffered so severely in our unsuccessful assault, a sight of the interior of this abominable dog-kennel was most acceptable : the more so, as this was the first time it had ever been taken by storm, though frequently attempted. Nothing could equal the surprise and

disgust which filled our minds at beholding the wretched holes under ground, in which a body of three thousand men, and for some time their families also, had so long contrived to exist. No language can paint the horrors of the picture. To shelter themselves from shot and shells, they had dug these holes in every part of the fort; and though some might occasionally be out to the eastward, yet the place must always have been excessively crowded. The north-west bastion, our old breach, attracted our particular attention; and a description of it will therefore serve for every other in this fort. It was about fifteen feet high on the outside, and nearly square: the face we breached was thirty feet long, and a parapet of about three feet thick at the summit, gradually increased sloping down into the centre, which was barely sufficient to contain about forty men; the passage in the gorge being only wide enough to admit two at a time. The depth in the centre, being originally on a level with the interior, was increased as the top mouldered down, so as to leave the defenders entirely sheltered from every thing but the shells and shot, which we had latterly used, more by accident than design. These were, of course, thrown over from the outside, and nothing else could have secured us the victory, since every man in the last breach was killed, and the passage blocked up, before our grenadiers obtained a footing above. Their long pikes, used in such a sheltered spot, must be most powerfully effective. No wonder, then, that every man who got to the top was instantly pierced and thrown down again. He could never get at his enemy, and indeed could scarcely tell from whence the blow was inflicted. The system of

defence adopted by these savages would have done credit to any engineer. Nothing could surpass it but their unwearied perseverance. Had the bastions been solid, or their defensive weapons only musquets and bayonets, we should not have had the mortification to lie before it for two months; and had our cavalry been more efficient, we should not have had a continuance of this warfare for six months longer. The fugitive phalanx, making good its retreat to Sherewéle, was there joined by twenty thousand men of the Murdoos.

Before I quit this place for ever, my plans and sketches being the only memorials of it that now exist, for it was razed to the ground, and ploughed all over but a few months afterwards, I must pay a parting tribute to the memory of one of the bravest and most cheerful fellows I ever knew. Michael Egan, one of the first to reach the top of the breach the first day, fell pierced through the body, and we all thought him dead. When the retreat was sounded, and a rush, not the most creditable, was made, in the opposite direction, I was employed in supporting, or rather carrying off a wounded grenadier of the 74th; on looking behind me, I saw poor Egan rise from the ground and run a few yards pursued by pike-men. The first impulse might have left me by his side, but ere I could reach the spot, he was piked through and through, and fell to rise no more in this world. His mangled body was wept over next morning, not only by his brother officers, but by every native officer and sepoy of the corps. Michael Egan was a manly, honest, and liberal fellow, with a frame of iron, and wanting only a little more education to have

insured a rapid advancement in the world. As, living, he was beloved by every man who knew him, so he was lamented by them dead, and the friend who now with an aching heart, attempts to record his worth, paid the last sad tribute to his remains, when interred on the field of battle.

Having already introduced one native soldier to the reader, I cannot close the Panjalumcoorchy annals, without making mention of another equally distinguished, and equally unfortunate, in the successor to Subadar Sheik Ebraum of the body guard. His name has escaped me, but his conduct is engraven on my memory, never to be forgotten; emulating his noble commander, now much enfeebled by his wound, but still the foremost amongst the enemy: this native officer pierced through the whole column more than once; cut down four or five of the enemy himself, and at last fell covered with wounds, and was afterwards found perfectly lifeless. I could mention many others, but they would extend my Journal to an unreasonable length; not having, however, done our Eteapoor allies sufficient justice, considering the share they took in the whole service, I shall conclude this part of my narrative with the death of one of their chiefs. Mortally wounded, he desired that his body might immediately be carried to Major Macaulay, who was at the time surrounded by his English officers. The old man, who was placed upright in a chair, then said, with a firm voice, "I have come to shew the English how a Poligar can die." He twisted his whiskers with both hands as he spoke, and in that attitude expired.

The three companies of the 9th, under Captain Hazard,

being left with the Pioneers to destroy the fort, a work by no means to be envied, on the 25th of May, the company of the 16th, under Captain M'Donnell, was sent ten miles off, to garrison Tutucorine, which the enemy had abandoned.

CHAPTER III.

Continuation of the Poligar War — Comery — Cutting through the Sherewéle Jungle — Skirmishes of the Foraging and Working Parties — Arrival of Woodia Taver — Departure from the Jungle, and arrival at Ookoer.

POLIGAR WAR.

May 26th, the 1st battalion of the 3rd regiment, under Major Sheppard, marched to Naglepoor, twenty-six miles, to leave a party there, and then proceed to Comery; and on the 28th the whole force arrived at Naglepoor, where the 2d battalion of the 6th, under Major Gray, immediately joined us.

On the 29th of May a large body of the enemy being reported to have invested Comery, the body guard, and the 2nd battalion of the 6th regiment of native infantry were ordered to proceed to join the 3rd; when Major Gray, being senior officer, assumed the command of the whole. They soon fell in with the Poligars in considerable force, attacked and completely routed them, relieved the place, and returned, having only eighteen men wounded.

On the 2nd of June the force arrived at Trippoo Wannum, forty-six miles from Naglecherry; the enemy appearing for the first time from the Murdoo's country, fired on our rear guard, but did no mischief; they also gave us an alert at night, from a beetle tope in the neighbourhood of our camp. Here the force halted, and Major James Graham

was detached with the 13th Native infantry, to escort the heavy train to Madura.

On the 4th of June, Major Graham's detachment returning to camp, was attacked by the enemy in force, about three miles off, and the 74th, 1st battalion of the 3d, and cavalry, marched under Major Sheppard to support them. The enemy were, however, very cautious, and could not be come at; having always the advantage of our infantry in speed, and the ground not admitting of the pursuit of our cavalry. Some of them were killed, and we returned safe to camp; a few men only, on our side, being killed and wounded.

On the 7th of June we marched to Tripachetty, only eight miles and a half, but rendered tedious by a harassing attack from the enemy on the road. They were reported by the flankers to be pushing over the river, to gain a long and high tank bank, which completely commanded the high road, by which we were advancing. Major Gray, with the 2nd battalion of the 6th, and two six-pounders, was ordered to take possession of this position, and cover the line. Unfortunately, however, he mistook his orders, and went beyond it; the consequence of which was, from drawing up his corps in a most exposed situation, the poor Major lost his own life, being shot through the body, and his corps was very severely handled; for drawing off under Lieutenant Ryan, they quitted the bank entirely, and were assailed by the enemy, who took immediate possession of it, and very speedily killed and wounded thirty men. At this juncture Lieutenant Blacker's troop, which had been in front of the rear-guard, came up, and got orders to charge a party firing from behind a choultry, which they did in a gallant

style, and succeeded in cutting up sixty or seventy of the enemy; during which skirmish Lieutenant B. received a slight wound in the leg near a former one not quite healed. While this was going on to the left and rear, the picquets were sent out to a village and tope,* in front of our left, under Captain Nagle, who took post there, and detached two small parties under Lieutenants Parminter and Stewart, to keep the enemy at a distance; they then appearing in considerable force. The former was attacked on entering a small jungle, and his party, being overpowered, retreated with some loss, leaving him to fight his own battle, which he certainly did most nobly; he had only a common regimental sword in his hand, with which miserable weapon he successfully fought, until he stumbled and fell, receiving five pike wounds in his body. At length a Poligar came up with a musquet and bayonet, and making a push, kindly intended for a *coup de grace*, the Lieutenant, although pinned by the left shoulder to the ground, made such an effort, that he not only cut the assailant across the legs, but at the same instant wrenched the pike out of the ground, and rose with a part of it fastened through his arm. His party, who had reloaded during this conflict, now rushed to his rescue, when he killed his opponent, and the rest fled in astonishment. Lieutenant Stewart had fifty men with him, and no sooner had he advanced on the tope, under a heavy fire, which broke his jaw bone, and knocked down several of his men, than the enemy, about six or seven hundred strong, rushed out upon his

* A clump of trees, an orchard, or forest, to any extent. When united with underwood, it is then called a jungle.

party, and put them to a momentary flight; but a staff officer in whom the men had great confidence, rushing up, rallied them in an instant, and they returned to the charge with a loud shout, and succeeded in putting their adversaries to flight. The picquets were then reinforced from the camp, and by the time the rear-guard arrived, our opponents were retreating in every direction.

Our loss this day was, Major Gray, killed; Lieutenants Blacker, Cole, Parminter, and Stewart, wounded; and of rank and file, we had sixteen killed, and thirty-five wounded.

On the 10th of June, having made three easy marches, with slight skirmishes, in which the enemy threw away much ammunition, as if to let us know they had a superabundance, we set forward through a very strong country, leaving the river to our left, and the road leading by high banks, water-courses, and jungle. The enemy in great force, having possessed themselves of a bank, which must have annoyed our line, the cavalry and gallopers were opposed to them till the 3rd came up, when Major Sheppard, with his usual gallantry, immediately stormed it, under a very heavy and galling fire. There being, however, a smaller bank behind it, to which they retreated, he immediately pushed on, and gained that also, after a trial of steadiness most creditable to the corps; for a body of pike-men, making a sudden effort to charge, they formed and fired by sections, by word of command, at the distance of only fifty paces. The enemy being at this time up to their thighs in water, very many of them fell, and sunk, never to rise again; the rest with difficulty escaped to their friends in the rear, who, convinced that the better part of valour is discretion, had retreated at an earlier

period. Here, covered by a deep jungle, they rallied, and the battalion was recalled, leaving flankers on the first bank, to be relieved regularly to the end of the march. As soon as the last party was withdrawn, the enemy made a dash, and gained it; poured in a heavy fire on the retreating troops and rear-guard, from under cover; whilst another party rushed into the bed of the river, and piked a few of our men. Not satisfied, however, with this trifling success, uniting their whole force, about three thousand men, they rapidly dashed across the river, gained the south bank, and attacked the rear-guard and reinforcements under Captain Godfrey, which had been sent back to it's relief; and without which, the former must, in all probability, have been destroyed. As it was, we merely lost a limber, arrack, cart, and barrel of ammunition. Many of the enemy must have fallen in this latter contest, and some were even killed within ten yards of the gun with the rear-guard. Captain Trotter, who commanded it, received a severe contusion from a spent ball, of uncommon magnitude; and our loss on this march was ten Europeans and eighty-six natives, killed and wounded.

Our situation in camp, near Pattianoor, was truly irksome, from the nature of the ground on which our line was formed. The enemy fired a volley in the evening at a small party posted in a little miserable Pagoda, at the corner of the village; we knew them to be assembled in multitudes all about us, and we were surrounded by jungle; so that had they attempted to take the village, they must have succeeded, for we had not half enough to defend it, though it was too near the left flank of the camp to be

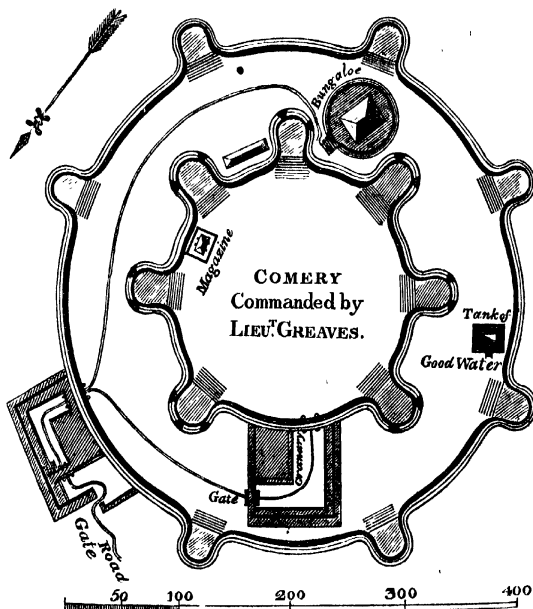
abandoned. Added to which, there was a tank of great extent, filled with jungle, in the rear of the head quarters, which they could easily have forced, and penetrated into the midst of our line : where, from the immense number of our followers, no small confusion reigned at all times. Little was the rest, and short were the slumbers of the head-quarter line this night ; and never was the sound of the general more welcome to my ears, than at four o'clock next morning.

The next march brought us to Permagoody, a distance of eleven miles, and here we encamped on a fine extensive plain, about half a mile from the village, which is both large and populous. Very few of the enemy appeared on this march, and they offered no rudeness, which we attributed to our having quitted the Murdoo's territory. He had, however, lately visited the village, of which he had taken possession in due form, and appointed a new Monygar, who thought proper to abscond on our approach. Here we were informed by the inhabitants, mostly weavers, that all the Chiefs, Princes, and Sherogars, with the whole army of the foe, were assembled to oppose us the day before ; and were further told, that they were still about three miles off, on the other side of the river. Not wishing entirely to part company with such warm friends ; but at the same time, most sagaciously suspecting, that we should not both agree so cordially on the same side,

June 12th, we marched to Chatta Marum, on the same side of the river, nearly twelve miles. The gallant adherents of the Cat, and Chinna Murdoo, shewed some desire to impede our progress by firing *a-la-distance* ; so

much so, indeed, that we were at no pains to return the compliment ; and after marching three or four miles, as we got further from their territory, they desisted entirely. A want of water here compelled us to dig eight feet in the bed of the river, ere we could get a supply. A similar paucity of forage may also be attributed to our harbingers.

On the 14th of June we reached Ramnad, to cover that part of the country, and gain information from Colonel Martinz, whom I have already mentioned, regarding the approaching campaign ; here we halted, feasting for six days.

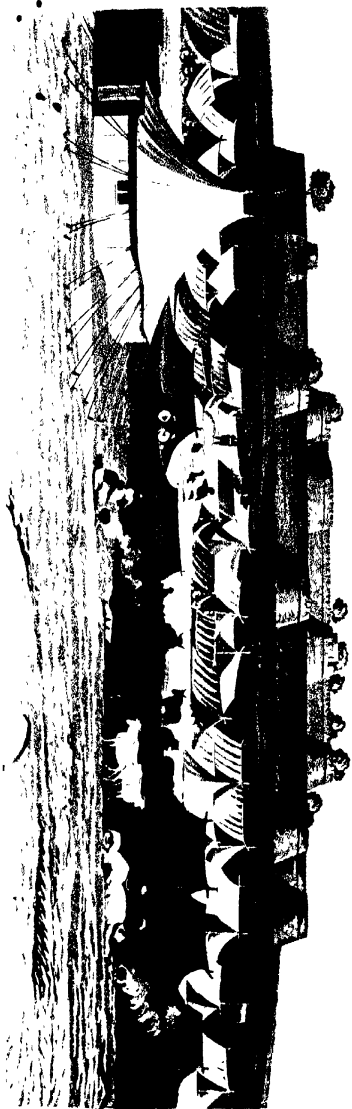


COMERY.

June 22nd, we encamped near Comery, about ~~twenty~~ 31 1/2 miles from Ramnad. This is a very strong and compact

stone fort, near the eastern bank of the Palamery river; it has two entire walls, one considerably higher than the other, nearly circular, with six round bastions in each, a good stone tank between the walls, and a granary and magazine in the upper one. Lieutenant Greaves was appointed Commandant, with a company of the 3d, and two hundred Peons; and abundance of ammunition and stores.

I now pass over several days of little importance, and at once bring the troops to Tricatéoor, on the 24th of July, where we encamped, and waited to be joined by another force under Lieutenant-colonel James Innes. On the evening of the 25th, large bodies of the enemy were seen passing to the north-westward, with palanquins, horses, &c. which we presumed were on their way to dispute the road with our reinforcements; and from daylight the next morning, a heavy firing was accordingly heard in that direction; in consequence of which, at eight o'clock A.M. Colonel Agnew consented to a strong detachment being sent out to meet and assist our friends. Having come up with Colonel Innes's party about half-past ten, we found him engaged, with the enemy hanging on his rear; upon which we allowed the whole to pass us, and then joining the rear-guard, discovered the Poligars in possession of a high bank, covered with bushes, with an almost impenetrable jungle in their rear, whence we drove them off, and covered the rear of the baggage, &c. returning to the camp through an excellent road in a deep jungle. Our loss this day was Captain Heitland and Lieutenant Frith, wounded; five Europeans killed and eight wounded; and four Sepoys killed and twelve wounded. Colonel



Innes's detachment encamped on our left, bringing with them some of Tondiman's Poligars, to act as Pioneers in the Sherewéle jungle. The enemy this day used rockets against us for the first time; and I saw a poor Sepoy burned to death, with one sticking fast in his chest, from which we could not extract it, nor extinguish the flame.

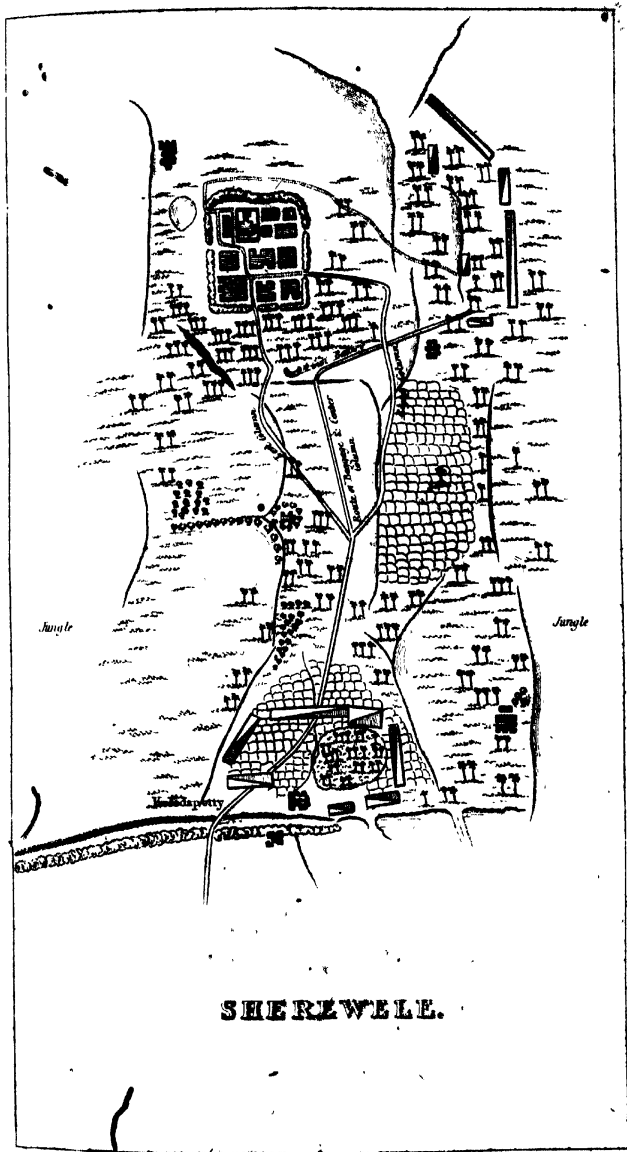
On the 28th, the enemy expecting us by another route, did not annoy us till near our ground at Ookoor; when they attacked the rear guard, and very unexpectedly met with a warm reception from a party under Lieutenant Farrel of the 6th, who gave a volley and then charged, which so much disconcerted them, that no further opposition was experienced, and the troops arrived in camp at eleven o'clock, A.M. The cavalry, under Captain Doveton, being sent out after breakfast, to protect the foragers, first sent in for a party of infantry, and afterwards reported that four thousand of the enemy had taken possession of a village about a mile to the right; when Major Sheppard was ordered out with reinforcements to their assistance. On our approach, however, they merely fired and retreated; when we gave them a few shot from the gallopers, burned the village, and returned to camp, with little loss. At night some of our followers set fire to the village of Ookoor, and entirely destroyed it; our picquets had been posted on the other side, to prevent the enemy from getting possession of it, and annoying our line: these rascals, however, found a far easier method of securing it.

On the 29th, they allowed us to proceed two miles without opposition, after which, we had to manœuvre every inch of the road; the country we had to pass

through being most advantageously situated both for annoyance and defence ; there being a continuation of banks on both sides, within musquet-shot, and others beyond them, flanked by thick jungle and palmyra trees, of which most favourable position they readily availed themselves. The first bank to the right, about two miles and a half onwards, was stormed by Major Sheppard, at the head of the advance guard. The enemy fired very briskly, but the Major did not give them time to load again ere the position was carried ; when they retreated to another bank, and continued the same kind of warfare during the whole march : being driven from bank to bank as we advanced, but never entirely desisting. The rear guard did not come up till three o'clock P.M. when the firing ceased, and we took possession of a strong line of banks with hedges under them, facing Sherewéle, and forming a kind of pentagon ; whilst from the situation of two banks running parallel to our flanks, so as to cover the corps behind them, we could not easily have found a stronger position. The enemy continued to shew themselves in all directions during the day, but gave us no disturbance at night. Our loss on this march, was Lieutenant Bruce badly wounded ; one European killed and eight wounded, and two natives killed and twenty-four wounded.

SHEREWÉLE.

On the 30th of July we obtained possession of the Murdoo's capital, Sherewéle. Though we had but a short distance to go, yet expecting some hard work, we took an



SHEREWEELE.

Published by Smith, Elder & Co. 65, Cornhill.

early breakfast, and set forward at eight o'clock A. M.; our advance consisting of five hundred and forty Europeans, the Malay riflemen, and three Native regiments. A bank running in an easterly direction from the right of our line, for about half a mile, and then turning to the north, was crowned with the Sherogar's troops; and they had formed a very neat little battery for four guns, in the centre of the northern arm, bearing directly down upon the high road, which they expected us to take. On reconnoitring this position, Colonel Agnew directed the leading division to be formed in two columns, one to take the battery in flank, the other to advance direct upon it; the former was accompanied by four 6-pounders, and the latter by two 12-pounders and two howitzers; upon which, the enemy fired a few shots, threw some ill-directed rockets, and then retreated with their four guns, but being rapidly pursued, very speedily abandoned them. Their panic was so great, that instead of offering any further resistance, where nature and art had given them such ample means, the enemy set fire to their own houses, and scampered off to the deep jungle, leaving us to take quiet possession of a burning town.

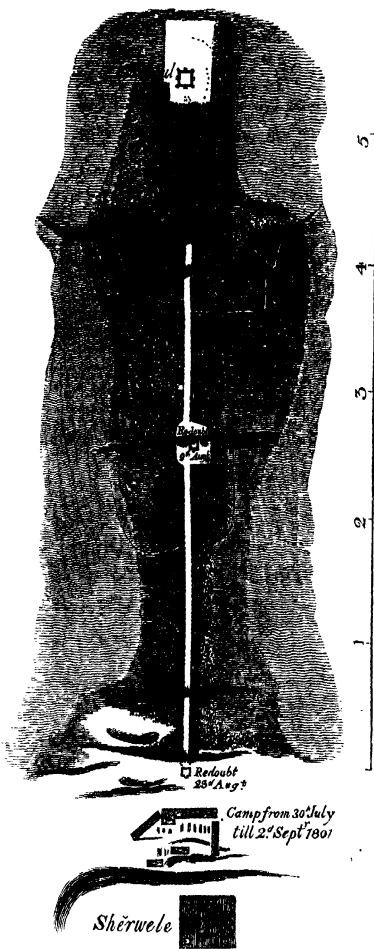
This march, which was at most two miles and three quarters, took us exactly six hours to accomplish; and the first tent of the line was pitched at half-past two o'clock, P. M. The fine extensive village of Sherewéle, almost destroyed by the flames, which had spread with great fury, accelerated by a high wind, fell into our hands without opposition, although every house was capable of a sturdy defence, and it had a very thick hedge all round it.

The Murdoo's Palace, and that of Shevatatomb³y, were conspicuous for neatness more than grandeur, and though small, were extremely solid and well built. The streets, one of which had an avenue in it, were broad and regular, and the whole town claimed a superiority over any I had ever seen in India.

SHEREWÉLE JUNGLE.

On the 31st of July commenced our operations in the Sherewéle, or rather Calliacoile Jungle, one of the thickest and most impenetrable in the Carnatic. Our Pioneers, and the wood-cutters from the Tondiman's country, amounting to about two thousand men, under cover of two hundred Europeans, the Malay riflemen, &c. with two six-pounders, marched from the park at ten o'clock, A. M. and returned at five, P. M. having cut a broad road of one mile and a half, in the direction of Calliacoile. A few of the enemy who suddenly appeared in front of the Europeans and Malays, were fired at and ran off, which was the only shew of opposition this day.

On the 1st of August Major Sheppard set out at daylight, at the head of a foraging party, with cavalry and field-pieces, and went to a village about two miles to the right, where he fell in with a few hundreds of the enemy, encamped on the skirts of the jungle, who fired and decamped, leaving a small tent, some bullocks, and grain, behind them. The village afforded abundance of forage; and the party returned to camp without loss. The Pioneers and wood-cutters also resumed their labours this morning, covered by a detachment under Major M'Leod; they cut



PLAN OF A MONTH'S OPERATIONS IN SHERWELE JUNGLE.

three quarters of a mile, and returned in the evening, with only two men killed, after much firing on both sides.

August 2nd.—The same working party went out, covered by one hundred and fifty Europeans, the Malay marksmen &c. under Major James Graham ; but no sooner had they reached the end of the road, unlimbered the guns, and sent out flanking parties, than a fire commenced from the jungle ; and the Malays being beset, ran in towards the Europeans in the centre, who could not prevent two of them being killed close to the gun. Ensign Goupil, on the other flank, was also attacked at the same time ; and though his party behaved most gallantly, yet they were also driven back again. One man, who was killed with Goupil, fired his master's pistol at one of the enemy and then threw it in his face, calling out "*Amökáh, amökáh !*"* The Ensign was himself assailed by two pikemen at once, but defended himself so well, that though his clothes were pierced through in several places, he came off unhurt, and being joined by a Malay Captain and five or six others, made good his retreat, though surrounded by the enemy.†

* The word *Amökáh*, in the Malay language, means kill ; and it is always used by them in action.

† This officer, a Frenchman by birth, was a Royalist, and consequently an emigrant. An accomplished gentleman, and truly brave soldier, he had previously served as a Captain of cavalry in the unfortunate campaign under the Duke of Brunswick. Being on a visit to Major Macaulay, when the rebellion broke out, he immediately volunteered his services ; and being totally unprepared for taking the field, he shared my tent, living, as all the staff did, with the Major, till after the fall of Punjalumcoorchy, when he obtained an Ensigncy in the Malay corps belonging to Ceylon. Of a slender and delicate frame, his chivalrous spirit frequently led him into dangers, apparently beyond his

It was now determined, that in order to enable the Malays to stand their ground, under such circumstances, they should be armed with short spears as well as rifles; and as they were individually able-bodied and brave men, they would thus be more than a match for their opponents. In their own country they have matchlocks and daggers, the latter called a creese, being by far the most deadly weapon of the two: whilst here, they had neither bayonet, sword, nor dagger, to assist their old rusty arms. Of the enemy only three bodies were left dead on the ground, and they must have been hard pushed to leave them there. Our working party was molested the whole of this day, but without further injury than three Malays wounded. They returned at three, P.M., after having cut six hundred yards. Some of our followers venturing out too far, were however killed and wounded, though they only thus met the fate which their rashness seemed to have provoked.

On the 3rd the same working party, covered by a detachment of Europeans and Malays, with four six-pounders, under Colonel Dalrymple, again went out, and found the Poligars had thrown up a breast-work, with one small gun, in front of the road: but upon the Colonel ordering his

strength; and he was endowed with such romantic notions of honour, that when I came up to congratulate him on his wonderful escape, he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "O, mon ami! J'ai perdu mon honneur!" and while his conduct had been viewed with one general sentiment of admiration by all who witnessed it, I had the utmost difficulty to persuade him that he had well performed his duty; and that no disgrace could attach to the soldier, who, successfully defending himself against such odds, had effected his retreat. He perished some years afterwards, while nobly fighting in the disastrous expedition to Candy.

guns to be fired, before he sent forward any parties into the jungle, his opponents immediately fled, taking their cannon with them. The bank was then taken without opposition, and immediately demolished. The enemy fired briskly all day, but with little damage, as we had only two men wounded. After cutting four hundred and thirty yards, the whole returned at half past four, P.M. The advantage of using cannon instead of musquetry was to-day particularly evident, the latter being of little avail in such thick jungle. Our opponents in great numbers, were, however, not idle elsewhere, and they unfortunately succeeded in cutting off some public cattle and followers in our rear. An uncle of Woodia Taver came over to us this evening from the enemy, with whom he held a post of confidence under the Murdoo, which enabled him to make his escape; as he commanded all the people posted near our camp, to intercept our communications. This man seemed to be fully acquainted with the means and measures of the chiefs he had betrayed, and gave Colonel Agnew much useful information, respecting the state of the country, and the mode of intended operations. A foraging party under Colonel Innes went out, and returned empty-handed.

August 4th.—Our working party, with the usual detachment under Colonel Innes, fell in with the enemy in force, who had taken post in a trench, and gave a heavy fire: they were, however, immediately charged and routed; leaving eighteen bodies on the ground. Three of the wounded who were brought into the camp and dressed, informed us, that all our principal opponents were in the field, excepting the Wella Murdoo; and were, by all

accounts, so much astonished at the sudden attack on their position, that they fled in all directions. The other parties, who used to take up different positions round our encampment, left off firing early, having probably received intelligence of the discomfiture of the main body. At five, P. M. the party returned, having cut five hundred and eighty yards, and discovered a small tank of water in the jungle to the left, and found many dead bodies of the enemy, with broken pikes, &c., which they had abandoned in their flight. Our loss this day was four Europeans and nine natives, killed and wounded. A foraging party under Major Graham brought in abundance of supplies.

On the 5th, our working party, covered by an escort under Major Sheppard, met with little opposition, and cut four hundred and forty yards; the jungle getting evidently thicker and harder to be cleared. Only one man wounded.

August 6th, the detachment accompanying our working party, was commanded by Major Graham, who found a high bank, at the end of the road cut the day before, had been scooped out and formed into a cover for a large body of the enemy, where they had thrown across three separate hedges, and got four guns to bear from it upon the road. This post they defended with great resolution, and killed and wounded many of our men, whose determined bravery, however, nothing could repel, and their opponents were at length put to flight. Their constant habit of dragging away their dead and wounded upon all occasions, where they were not too closely pursued, led us to suppose their loss to have been considerable, as their blood could be

traced in every direction through the surrounding jungle. Our loss was also very great; but after the bank was stormed and taken, the work proceeded without opposition, and by the evening we had cut two hundred and thirty-seven yards.

August 7th.—A foraging party under Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple obtained a large quantity of straw without opposition. The working party under Major M'Leod being heard firing for upwards of an hour, Lieutenant Little was sent out with a detachment to bring away the wounded. He returned with the pleasing intelligence, that not a man had been seriously hurt, though the bank was again defended, and again stormed. It was at length taken in flank, but the enemy succeeded in carrying off their guns, and all their killed and wounded. The jungle was so impenetrable, that only one party under Lieutenant King gained their flank in time; another, despatched in the opposite direction, under Major M'Pherson, did not arrive till some time afterwards, or they would have secured the enemy's guns. No further opposition was offered, and the party returned, after having cut about three hundred and fifty yards.

On the 8th, the foraging party under Major Sheppard again brought in a considerable quantity of straw; and by the covering party under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Dalrymple, the bank was found again raised, hedged, and defended, and was again gallantly taken in flank. The right party alone, however, under Lieutenant Fletcher, put the enemy to flight; since the left division did not arrive in time, on account of the thickness of the

jungle. The Poligars, on finding themselves likely to be outflanked, fired a volley down the road, which did no damage, and absconded. Considering the strength of their position, our loss was very small. The Pagoda of Caliacole, to which we were working, was this day distinctly seen by the covering party, who returned after cutting five hundred yards.

On the 9th, our working party was commanded by Major Sheppard, who changed his mode of attack, by opening all the guns, and throwing a few shells into the work, by which plan he took possession, without the loss of a man. In consequence of the very powerful and repeated impediments to our speedy advance, which this bank had already thrown out, we were to day ordered to fortify it as a post ; and by the evening therefore, a tolerable field redoubt for three hundred men, and three guns, was completed and occupied before we came away, by a fresh party from the camp, under Colonel Innes. It was a square of thirty yards, the south face being on the bank towards Caliacole, with an enormous tamarind-tree, of such dimensions that we could not cut it down, close to it; from whence both Sherewéle and Caliacole were clearly visible.

August 10th.—Colonel Innes commanded the covering party, which experienced no opposition, and cut five hundred yards. This day we had intelligence that Captain Blackburn with supplies and a small force on it's way to join us, had been obliged to take post at Ardengah, twenty-five miles to the north-east, not being sufficiently strong to force his way to the camp. Major M'Pherson, with

One hundred Europeans and two hundred Sepoys took post in the redoubt.

On the 11th, a foraging party under Colonel Dalrymple, returned unmolested with abundance of provender; and the working party, under Major M'Pherson, had only a slight opposition, and cut four hundred and fifty yards. From the appearance of Caliacole Pagoda, it was conjectured to be only one mile and a half from the end of the road.

On the 12th, the working party under Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple met with little opposition, and cut about four hundred and fifty yards. There was a good deal of firing at our picquets, but without injury; and from the very heavy thunder storms, with rain, from the south-eastward, we sent out an old officer's tent to secure the arms of the men in the advanced redoubt.

On the 13th, a foraging party under Major Sheppard, with our Eteapoor allies, went about eleven miles to the north-westward, and were attacked on the march by the enemy, who were so very daring as to seize some of our straggling camp followers, and taking advantage of the banks, &c. kept up a constant fire, till the Major charged them with the Europeans, flanked by the cavalry, and drove them off. The cavalry, however, served for shew only, as the ground would not admit of their acting. At length the enemy, becoming more cautious, attacked the Eteapoorians only, who behaved with great spirit and steadiness, and though far outnumbered, repulsed them every time, having the advantage of our ammunition, which was served out to them. Of the enemy, we calculated that at least two

hundred were killed and wounded, for they even came close to our guns, which were by no means idle. Lieutenant Graham of the Bengal artillery, and Major Sheppard's orderly, each shot a man within fifty paces ; and the Sepoys frequently fired by platoons, when crowds were opposed to them. The working party, under Major M'Leod, had little opposition, and cut two hundred and fifty yards ; the jungle getting thicker, and the trees harder, as they advanced.

August 14th.—The working party, covered as usual, under Colonel Innes, cut three hundred and fifty yards, and saw the Pagoda very distinctly, only about one mile distant. We had a great deal of firing during the night, but without injury on our side.

On the 15th, the working party, under Major Sheppard, on their arrival at the end of the road, returned a cannonade from three guns, which we could not see, but which had been admirably brought to bear upon it ; while at the same time, a heavy and constant fire of musquetry, matchlocks and jingalls, was kept up from both flanks and rear ; but being ill levelled, the balls mostly flew over our heads. After some delay, therefore, finding that, the enemy having at length got the exact range, it was impossible to persuade the wood-cutters to work ; and aware, also, that his force was not sufficient to cover them, and dislodge our opponents, the Major resolved to return to the redoubt, to save the lives of his men. We subsequently ascertained that the shot from their guns proceeded from a spot about two hundred yards to the right ; and we did not return to camp until relieved at the redoubt in the evening.

On the 16th, the working party under Major M'Leod,

advanced in two columns, without guns, and penetrated with difficulty to the front of the bank, from whence the enemy had fired the day before ; but found it fortified so strongly, both by nature and art, that after a long struggle, in which only a few of our men could advance at a time, and during which they were exposed to a heavy fire, without seeing their opponents, the enterprise was abandoned. It proved to be a high bank, sloped down with a thick abattis, and thorns scattered at some distance in front, from which the guns still continued to impede the work.

August 17th.—Neither our foraging or working parties in Sherewéle met with any opposition. The other working party in advance was formed into two columns, one of which proceeded direct, while the other, composed of one hundred and sixty Europeans, and four hundred Sepoys, cut a small road, about one thousand two hundred yards, to the right, and then returned. The first, remaining in the high road, kept up a constant fire of cannon till the other came back ; when getting a report that all their water was expended, Major M'Pherson determined to retire, having already sent the Pioneers, &c. back to camp, under an escort of Sepoys. It rained very heavily during the march of this small party, and I think it very lucky that the enemy were content to use the weapon least adapted to their knowledge and abilities, fire-arms ; with which, though they made a great noise, they did little execution.

On the 18th, our working and covering parties, under Colonel Innes, followed the small road made the day preceding, and cut five hundred yards further, where, crossing a high bank, they were exposed to a heavy fire,

without seeing their opponents : several men were killed and wounded here, and Colonel Innes himself had a very narrow escape.

On the 19th, Colonel Agnew having determined to take the enemy's cannon, a select party was formed under Captain Weston, composed of about eight hundred men, Europeans and Sepoys, with two six-pounders, and some Pioneers, under Captain Bagshaw and Lieutenant Gordon.

We pursued the same route which Colonel Innes had gone the day before ; and being ordered to avoid the bank, from which he had been so much annoyed, cut off nearly south-east, about two hundred yards to the left, and came to a bank about sixty yards onward. It was here the enemy first shewed signs of disputing the road with us, and Captain Weston accordingly posted one of our guns upon it ; moving forward the rest as fast as the Pioneers could cut, which, from the extreme density of the jungle, was a work of much time and labour. Whilst we were thus occupied, the enemy fired several sarabogies,* evidently as signals for the assemblage of their whole force in our neighbourhood, since all remained peaceable for the ensuing quarter of an hour. At length, at about half past ten, a tremendous firing opened all round us, and we could not perceive one of our opponents, although evidently within a few yards of them. Having ascertained, however, that they were still advancing on our right flank, our men were formed four deep, facing outwards, with a gun on each flank, and occupying the whole road. When we could perceive them

* A species of park guns, for firing salutes at feasts &c., but not used in war.

within ten yards, our firing commenced, the infantry all sitting, by which plan many lives were saved, and more damage done to the deluded crowds, who thus hemmed us in, for their own destruction. Screams and groans succeeded, but the firing still continued on their side, for about twenty minutes, when all was hushed, and we pushed on, and gained another broad and high bank, covered with jungle. Here Captain Weston consulted the other officers, as to the propriety of moving further in such ground, still uncertain where the guns might be, for which we had ventured so far; when it was determined, as we should by advancing, give the enemy time to occupy the road we had left, that we should return forthwith. We had then only cut about one hundred and fifty yards the whole morning, and the guns, as far as we could possibly ascertain, instead of being as we had expected, on our left flank, were about six hundred yards in our front. At noon, therefore, we commenced our retrograde movement, and in two hours reached Colonel Dalrymple and the working party, a few hundred yards in front of the redoubt. Mortal men could hardly have done more than this small party, but Colonel Agnew, confidently calculating on the capture of the enemy's guns, and thereby shortening the labour and time of our advance on the new capital of our extraordinary opponents, was by no means pleased or satisfied with our return. Of the enemy who were opposed to us, and who were probably from fifteen to twenty thousand men, numbers must have been destroyed; while our loss was only one man killed and four wounded. Colonel Dalrymple with the working and covering party in

the main road, who were waiting for our signal of the capture of the invisible battery, to push on and join us there, of course returned disappointed. We had very heavy rain after we got home.

August 20th.—A foraging party under Major M'Leod, went a long way to the eastward, and returned at noon with abundance of supplies. They saw several tents pitched in the jungle, but met with no opposition. We had no working party out to-day, but Major Sheppard with one hundred Europeans and five hundred Sepoys, was at the redoubt from sun-rise till evening: nothing of any consequence was done, and there was little firing, excepting at our outposts.

On the 21st, a working party under Major Sheppard, cut a road to the left, thirty feet broad and two hundred long, opposite to the former one to the right. There was a good deal of firing without much damage, and we had as usual, a heavy rain in the evening.

On the 22nd, a foraging party under Major Sheppard went out ten miles, and returned with plenty of straw: the enemy accompanied us at a little distance, fired a great deal, but did little mischief. The working party under Major M'Pherson did but little work, and we had again a very wet evening.

August 23rd.—Colonel Innes's detachment, with all the cavalry, marched towards Tremium, to bring stores, &c. to the camp, which were now much wanted; a large tappall* was despatched with them, the first we had been

* The Post throughout the Madras Presidency is designated Tappall; at Bengal and Bombay it is styled Dawk; and travelling expeditiously is therefore called going by Tappall, or by Dawk.

able to send since we left Ookoer, being completely surrounded, and our communication entirely cut off for the last twenty-five days. By this opportunity also, Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple, Major Grant, Doctor Tait, and Lieutenant Campbell, being all on the sick list, got permission to quit the camp. A covering party under Captain N. M. Smith went out and cleared the ground round our post, and another smaller redoubt, about twenty paces by fifteen, was also constructed at the commencement of the road leading to the jungle, for a company to keep up the communication with the advanced redoubt. The camp was likewise removed about six hundred yards nearer Sherewéle, the Pagoda of which had been carefully fortified, and throwing back the wings, it formed a parallelogram, having the village for one face, exactly in the rear of the centre. At about half past ten the enemy opened three guns upon us, from a bank to the left of the old ground, formerly occupied by a picquet guard, but the shot fell mostly short, and before a party could assemble to take the battery by storm, the guns were silenced and withdrawn.

On the 24th, a working party under Major Sheppard, cleared away some more ground round the redoubt, and returning in the evening, were fired on from both sides of the road. We had taken out with us a light gun invented by Captain Sadler, not being accustomed to its management, one of our own Pioneers was killed by the first discharge. The gun was consequently condemned by all hands, and consigned to oblivious silence for ever afterwards.

On the 25th the jungle party under Major M'Pherson worked near the redoubt, and in the evening the redoubt party was attacked on both sides of the road; the enemy being more daring than usual, even came into the road, in front and rear, where they kept up a heavy fire, whilst the working party was also fired upon on its return to the camp. One of the Poligars was killed by our gun, in the road, close to him, and though he was cut through, yet his companions carried him off.

On the 26th, nothing particular occurred; and on the 27th, two working parties were employed in the jungle, in front and to the north; whilst a detachment under Major Sheppard marched to reinforce Colonel Innes, and bring him and his supplies safe into camp. We reached Trippatore, fourteen miles distant, at seven, P.M. and slept on our arms.

On the 28th, a firing in the direction of Tremium warned us of Colonel Innes's approach, and we accordingly proceeded to join him; but receiving orders to return and secure the Fort of Trippatore as expeditiously as possible, the Major, leaving a detachment with Colonel Innes, made a dash, and regained it before the enemy's arrival. Our whole force then encamped in and about the old fort; where the heavy rain in the evening kept us all on the alert.

On the 29th we marched at day-break, our detachment forming the rear-guard. We had much skirmishing on the road, but reached the village of Pattimungulum in good time, and encamped close to it; taking advantage of some banks in the neighbourhood.

¶ As this was the last opportunity the enemy could have of preventing the junction of our much-wanted supplies, the morning of the 30th of August found us forming the rear-guard, as before, and the enemy at their posts on the road, to impede our advance. Indeed, every thing that undisciplined savages could do, was attempted on this occasion: they lined every bank and eminence on both sides of our march, and one party was no sooner beaten, than another appeared. Still their efforts fell far short of what might have been expected; and we now began to suspect our old opponents, Cátábomiá Naig and his dumb cousin, with the Panjalumcoorchy Poligars, were either absent or destroyed in the previous actions. Their numbers and perfect knowledge of the ground gave them great advantages over us, who had to protect a very large convoy, and also Woodia Taver, a new chief, who was to be set up in place of the Murdoos. The Scotch brigade formed the advanced guard, and the principal work of the day fell to them, and to our party in the rear; who were constantly engaged from day-light till half-past twelve, when we reached the camp at Sherewéle. It had now become common for any party of our's, however few, to dash at any number of the enemy, who appeared near enough, and quite as usual, for them to run away: their guns they were very careful to keep out of our reach; and though they never fired harder than in this skirmish, yet the killed and wounded of all descriptions on our side did not exceed forty or fifty men. Many of their balls, also, were made of pewter, which hit without hurting severely. The weather being extremely sultry, the one thousand four

hundred gallons of arrack, three thousand bullocks' loads of rice, and various other supplies which were received by this convoy, were most welcome reinforcements.

In the evening the new sovereign of this country, Woodia Taver, paid his first visit to Colonel Agnew, accompanied by an elder brother and an old Brahmin; when after mutual compliments, he returned to his own tent, pitched in our head-quarter line. He was a good-looking man, but discovered considerable embarrassment and want of familiarity with that dignity to which chance and the British Government had so unexpectedly raised him. He appeared very grateful for the attentions he received; and whatever the motives of others' might be in this elevation, we gave him credit for sincerity, in his appreciation of our exertions to raise him from obscurity and penury, to the rank of a Prince, and the revenues of a kingdom.

It was to-day resolved to quit this place, without further prosecuting our attempt to reach Caliacole, from the Sherwéle side; and the rejoicing was unanimous, at the prospect of leaving a place which had been the grave of so many of our brave comrades. Even the honour which we lost, in abandoning the labours of a whole month, was forgotten, in viewing the comparative facility which the opposite direction held out. Our camp had become sickly, and many were suffering from diarrhœa and dysentery; indeed, both officers and men had died of this vile scourge; while even those who continued to enjoy good health, were heartily sick of a standing camp, in a spot entirely devoid of vegetation or verdure, where the only green that met the eye was the impenetrable forest, in which we had

been foiled by cowards; of such a persevering nature, however, that although beating them every hour, they had succeeded so completely to surround us, that we could neither send a letter, nor receive one, even from Pallamcottah, for a whole month. Many attempts had been made to elude their vigilance, but I believe every one failed. I had myself given a friendly Poligar, who, knowing the people and every inch of the country, had volunteered the adventure, an advance of five pagodas, with one small letter; and he was on delivery to have received a similar sum, equal in the whole to four pounds sterling; and to my shame and sorrow, I afterwards learned, that though he set out in a dark night, he was discovered and put to death, within a few miles from our camp.

August 31st.—A foraging party, under Major M'Leod, went out about twelve miles, and returned almost empty-handed. They were fired at on their way back, and had four men killed and wounded.

On the 1st of September, a working party was sent out, with the usual escort, to destroy all our thirty-two days' handiwork in the jungle, which they fully accomplished, by demolishing the redoubts, and burning all the brush-wood in their neighbourhood; and returned with the out-guards to camp, without opposition.

On the morning of the 2nd of September, our whole force marched to Ookoor, from whence we had advanced in the end of June, and arrived there by noon, without molestation. Here the head men of some of the neighbouring villages came in, and paid their respects to the new sovereign; and some villagers also brought fowls and eggs,

and claimed immunity and protection. I strongly suspect a majority of our late opponents in the jungle were people of this description ; enticed away from a life of quiet industry to the more gaudy and unprofitable profession of arms, by exaggerated accounts of the delights of rapine and pillage.

CHAPTER IV.

*Continuation of the Poligar War—Inauguration of Woodia Taver—
Capture of the Temple of Perahmallee—The Pagoda of Caliacole,
Velli Murdoo and Cheena Murdoo, the Rebel Chiefs—Their Capture
and Fate.*

POLIGAR WAR.

OUR main force remaining encamped at Ookoor, on the morning of the 3rd of September, a foraging party went out under Captain Charles Trotter, and returned with abundance. Another party, as an escort to Colonel Agnew and staff, marched through a broad road in low jungle, to a large village, called Sholaveram, three miles south-south-west of our camp; having a capital Pagoda at its north-western extremity, and the ruins of a square mud fort, within two hundred yards of it. The Pagoda wall was strong and perfect, forming a square of from forty to fifty yards, and twelve feet high. To the north-east, and partly south, was clear ground for nearly a mile in extent, having the famous city of Naulcottah at the other extremity of the south face, which is consequently a mile off. The ancient sovereigns of this country, now called Marrawah, were originally styled Naulcottah Rajahs; and it is still supposed that the sanction and patronage of the head men

of this now insignificant village, is necessary to any Rajah of this extensive country.

Woodia Taver, styled by the Madras government the "Zemeendaar of Shevagungah," having received the homage of these king-makers this day, they promised to bring all the inhabitants back to their houses, and Captain Smith being left with two companies to garrison the Pagoda, we returned to camp; though another party, sent in the evening to relieve him, was fired upon, on the march back, but had only one man wounded.

September 4th.—Intelligence being received that the enemy occupied a village in force, about two miles to the right, Major Sheppard was ordered out with a party to dislodge them. We marched at day-light, and were immediately met by the Poligars, whom we successively charged from two banks, and pursued to the skirts of the jungle. In the village, which they politely relinquished at our approach, we found a large supply of grain, which the detachment effectually covered, until cattle were brought to remove it; which being effected by noon, we returned to camp. Colonel Innes's detachment moved their ground to Sholaveram, where they encamped, to cover the workmen ordered to strengthen and fortify the Pagoda.

On the 5th we lost Lieutenaat Scott of the Artillery, a remarkably fine young man, and an excellent officer; and on the 6th a foraging party brought in some supplies.

September 9th.—Major Graham marched at day-light for Madura, with the sick and wounded men and officers; and here I took leave for ever, in this world, of one of the warmest-hearted and kindest souls I ever knew, poor

James Graham ; who, though himself hovering on the very brink of the grave, would not consent to quit the field, until Colonel Agnew, to save his life, put him in orders to command this detachment. He had joined the army in a very weak state, contrary to medical advice, and having commanded the party which met with such unlooked-for and serious resistance from the enemy on the 6th of August, it had preyed on a mind of the keenest sensibility ; although every man gave him full credit for a display of heroism and science, little to be expected in an invalid ; and to his great personal exertions on that occasion may also be attributed that increase of nervous debility, which so speedily terminated a life of glory, and deprived the Madras army of one of its best officers.

Of all the superstitions of the East, that of regulating movements of consequence, by attention to particular local positions, and the observation of what are called lucky days, and even hours, is the most ridiculous, and is too often attended with the most injurious consequences ; though on the present occasion, however, nothing disastrous occurred. The Brahmins in our camp and vicinity having fixed on the 12th of September, as an auspicious day, for the inauguration of the new Sheragar of Shevagunah, his Highness Woodia Taver rose with the lark, adorned himself like a peacock, and moved in state to the Pagoda of Sholaveram, escorted by the staff, and the 2nd battalion of the 6th regiment ; where, having various religious ceremonies to perform, we left him till noon, when Colonel Agnew and staff, in full costume, proceeded with

an escort of cavalry, first to Colonel Innes's camp, where he joined the cavalcade, and thence to the Pagoda ; at the gate of which Woodia Taver's tent was pitched, with a temporary pandall for our reception. The embryo dignitary having met us here, Colonel Agnew, after the customary salutations, presented him with a superb dress ; at the same time giving his brother a similar one, but of much less value. They then retired into the tent, and shortly afterwards the cavalry having been drawn up, with a Howdah elephant, and military band, the great men returned, dressed in their robes of honour, when they were greeted by a concatenation of sounds, produced by our band, in conjunction with various native musical instruments ; in which the warlike collery-horn and noisy tomtom, were the most conspicuous for execution. On their arrival at the front of the pandall, Colonel Agnew on his right, and Colonel Innes on his left, handed the Rajah in, and seated him on a carpet in the centre, with his brother on his left hand ; when, our chairs being placed in a semi-circle, we all sat down opposite to them. All being at length adjusted, and silence obtained, a matter of considerable difficulty, a scribe read aloud the proclamation of Government, announcing the appointment of the said " Woodia Taver," to be " Zemeendaar of the Sheva-gungah districts." Then, handing the deed to Colonel Agnew, he folded it up, and presented it, with an appropriate and congratulatory speech, to the new Zemeendaar, who expressed his gratitude in a very eloquent and feeling reply. A salute of eleven guns was then fired, and the two

Colonels having handed the Prince into his howdah,* the officers all re-mounted, and the cavalry formed an advanced and rear-guard, with drawn swords, having the elephant and staff in the centre. The procession then started, with a flourish of trumpets and a march from the band; the native music struck up, and a peal of shouts and shrieks from all the Poligar and collery attendants rent the air. After passing all round the Pagoda and camp, the cavalcade stopped at the exact spot from whence it set out, and Woodia Taver was again handed into the pandall by the two Colonels. The new Prince was actually overpowered with gratitude; I saw a tear run down his cheek, and all at once, unable any longer to suppress his honest feelings, he arose, threw himself at Colonel Agnew's feet, and embraced his knees; whilst his brother, by a simultaneous movement and feeling, embraced the knees of Colonel Innes.

The scene had now become truly interesting, and I must own I felt a sensation almost amounting to regret, when it was concluded, by our taking leave and retiring. The Zemeendaar remained, to receive the homage of the few of his future subjects who had come over to our side; and at five, P. M. he came back to camp, with his original escort.

On the 14th of September, Lieutenant-colonel Spry returned to camp, in command of the 1st battalion of the 4th, and 2nd battalion of the 13th, from Madura, bringing abundance of supplies, both public and private; having

* A carriage, or litter of various dimensions, fitted on the back of an elephant for the accommodation of Princes, or great natives; in courts, it is the state-carriage of the Sovereign.

left the cavalry at Vellatore, with Captain Trotter, and the Eteapoor allies, to bring on our long intercepted Tappall. Captain Whitlie, of the Malay corps, and Lieutenants Fletcher and Vigo, having recovered of their wounds, with a few recovered men, also rejoined us by this opportunity. It having rained hard every evening since the 6th, the tanks were filled, and the country all round began to assume a verdant aspect. Lieutenant Dewlin, of the Malay corps, died this day of dysentery.

On the 15th, Lieutenant Pepper, with two companies of infantry, was sent to join Captain Trotter, who was ordered to proceed at night to Keelvelavoo, to surprise a head collery at that village; whilst at the same time Captain Chambers was despatched to seize another chief, and another village, in the same neighbourhood, both parties uniting after the service should be performed.

On the 16th, we received accounts that they had entered the villages at midnight and seized some prisoners, who were sent to camp, but that the head men, having been apprised of the approach of our detachments, by lights and fires all along the direction they were marching, had effected their escape.

PERAHMALLEE.

September 17th. Our two companies under Lieutenant Pepper returned to camp; and Colonel Agnew having determined on paying a visit to Perahmallee, a detachment marched at day-light, and joining Captain Trotter's party, at Vellatore, now under the command of Major Doveton, promoted while out, and superseding him accordingly,

moved on to Mellore, where we encamped. The road from Vellatore to within a mile of Mellore was through a jungle, three miles in length, and at this time completely under water; the total distance being fifteen miles and a half. We struck out tents at ten, P. M., and marched at eleven; the first two miles were passable enough, after which we had to wade through a continued sheet of water, partly tanks, and partly heavy paddy ground; in short, having lost our road when the moon set, it was by mere accident that we stumbled on a strip of dry ground, barely sufficient to draw out the whole detachment upon, and we slept there from two o'clock till five in the morning of the 18th, when we again set forward. It was with benumbed limbs that we once more waded through mud and water, generally three feet deep, dragging the guns ourselves where the cattle were insufficient, till we arrived at a nice little dry plain, close to the village of Singapadary, about four miles and a half from the hill of Perahmallee. Having accomplished a night march of fourteen miles and a half, we encamped, sending forward the cavalry and Tondiman's Peons, to take the Pagoda, in which we were informed that the enemy had left only twenty men. Captain Munro, Brigade-major, and Mr. George Hughes, our intelligent interpreter, put themselves at the head of the Peons, when they came near the place, and encouraged them to advance; but, unluckily, they were not to be thus persuaded, and the enemy, animated undoubtedly by their hesitation, poured a fire of musquetry, which put a stop to the attack. The cavalry gallopers were now brought into action, a few discharges of which turned the scale; for the enemy,

abandoning their 'vantage ground, were perceived in full retreat, while Captain Munro was creeping into the wicket, followed by a very few, who, more from shame than courage, made a feint to back him. Thus came into our hands, without loss, the far famed temple of Perahmallee, and Colonel Agnew, proceeding to the place after breakfast, gave us an opportunity of examining it as a military post. I have seldom been more surprised than at the appearance of this fortification, which had been always described to us as a common Pagoda, surrounded by a simple wall, of a foot or two in thickness, and fifteen or sixteen feet high; and even from Singapadary it looked like a trifling choultry at the foot of a hill. On our approach, it however gradually increased in respectability, and before we reached the outer walls, we discovered that it was a stone fort of considerable extent and elevation, though all we could see from below was nothing, to what we found on ascending to the interior.

It was a solid stone fort, embracing the declivity of a rocky projection, nearly perpendicular, from a rugged and lofty mountain; it had two entire walls, and a fortified pettah outside the whole; each of the two outer places was completely commanded by the walls of the inner one, which was forty feet high, and perfectly impenetrable, being cut out of the solid rock, with a mere parapet of stone, added above the *terre plein*. There are tanks of water within each wall, and a fine spring from the rocks in the upper fort, with many strong and capital buildings in the choultry form, in both forts; and one in particular in the upper, so connected with the rock, as not only to command

both forts, but every part of the pettah also, and a most interesting and extensive view of the country for thirty miles round. From this delightful spot we could distinctly see the Pagodas of Coonagoody, Caliacole, Trickatoor, and Teroomallee, the Mellore Hills, and Annémallee, near Madura; but a range of adjoining hills prevented our seeing Secundermallee and Allegerry. The mountain, or Pigeon Hill, as it's name signifies, is immensely high and rugged, and craggy to such a degree, that I do not think any man could climb to the summit; the fort is, indeed, so situated under a projecting precipice, that little harm could be done by an enemy, even bold enough to creep to the extremity; still there are three bluff-rocks, or large masses of stone, a short way up, from whence sharpshooters might annoy the garrison of the lower fort and pettah; which, though perfectly accessible from the upper gate, appears tenable by twenty or thirty men. Yet, were an enemy even desperate enough to attack this party, and overpower them, they might still follow their opponents under cover to the very gate, and if that were shut, being in security behind a thin wall, of about twenty feet high, most injudiciously built on the interior, and connecting it with the rocks, they might then burn the back entrance, or even demolish the wall; this is a crisis, however, never likely to happen to any party of British troops. Captain Charles Godfrey and his three companies were left to garrison the place, along with Captain W. Macaulay, and Lieutenants Powell, Balmain, Davis, and Hampton; having already discovered a depot of grain and other stores. We had one man killed by a shot from the rocks; but the enemy retreated imme-

diately after firing, and did not again molest us; the whole detachment, therefore, returned to the camp at Ookoer, on the 21st of September.

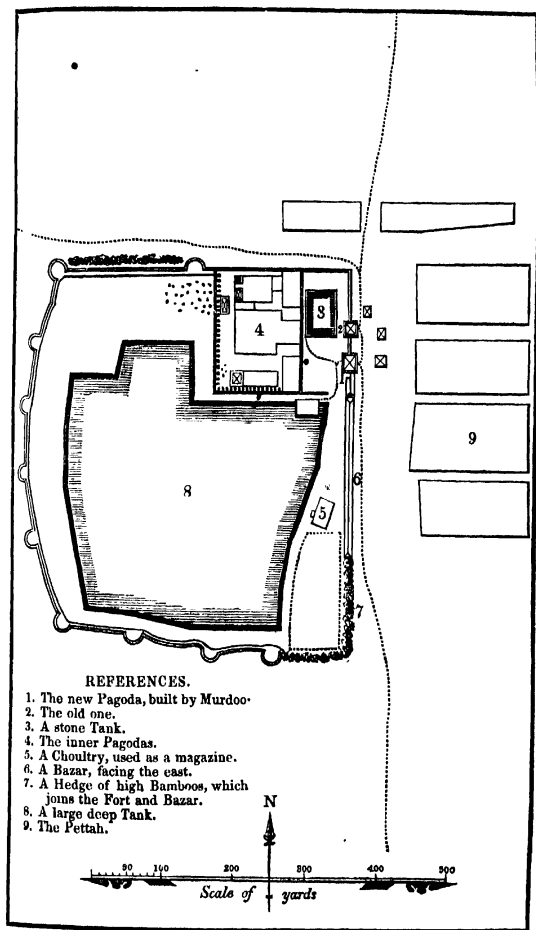
On the 24th, the cavalry and Eteapooreans, with two hundred infantry under Lieutenants Langford and Smith, were sent to relieve Captain Godfrey at Perahmallee, who was ordered to return to camp immediately, with a large supply of grain collected at Nattam.

September 27th.—Captain Lang was ordered into garrison at Fort Clive, or Nundycottah, as our men called it, a field work built by Colonel Innes, whose nickname, was *Nundy*, from his lameness; and the rest of the force prepared to make a new dash at Caliacoil.

On the 30th Lieutenant-colonel Spry was directed to march at night with a detachment, by the old road to Sherewéle, and thence to proceed through the road we cut in the jungle to Caliacoil. The remainder of the troops were ordered to proceed in the morning, and Colonel Innes's force to meet us by another route, from Sholaveram. Captain Godfrey joined us at night.

CALIACOILE.

The dawn of the 1st of October saw us all advance by three distinct routes, to the redoubted Caliacoil; our advance being under the command of Major Sheppard. We experienced no opposition for the first three miles, when we arrived opposite a barrier of some strength, from which a gun opened on our column. Captain Vesey was immediately detached at the head of a party into the jungle to take it in flank, whence the enemy were immediately dis-



PLAN OF CALIACOILE.

lodged, without the loss of a single life on our part, and only Doctor Inglis,* our staff surgeon, and one pioneer wounded. They then made no further show of resistance until we came to a plain of wet paddy ground, fronting Mootoor, from a high bank in which they commenced an unavailing fire, but were soon put to flight, and appeared no more all day. Our camp was pitched on a small spot of dry ground, about a mile further on, nearly facing the south-west, and the troops having rested a little and laid aside their knapsacks, we pushed on to Caliacole without any further opposition, and found Colonel Spry and his detachment in quiet possession. After dispersing a party of the enemy near the place, he had taken post there at eight, A. M. The road we now marched over was perfectly good, and the barriers and thorns, although strewn pretty thickly, could not have delayed us a day, had we advanced in this direction three months sooner. Colonel Innes's detachment having routed the enemy wherever they appeared on his march, killed an hundred of them in one tank, took possession of Calagoody about a mile from our camp, near Mootoor, and then joining us, encamped upon our left, facing to the west. We halted at Caliacole for about an hour, and then returned to camp in the evening, having been altogether thirteen hours on our feet in a very hot day.

* Mr. John Inglis was a man of sterling abilities; with great activity of body, he possessed a cheerfulness of disposition, suavity of manners, and benevolence of mind, which endeared him to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. He has now long since passed "that bourne from whence no traveller returns."

The Pagoda of Caliacole is a very large and handsome building, surrounded by a strong stone wall, about eighteen feet in height, and forming one angle of the fort, which was nearly dismantled. The enemy seemed quite disheartened and bewildered, by our different attacks at the same moment, and hardly a soul appeared during the remainder of the day. We found here twenty-one guns, mostly mounted, and a great quantity of stores; there were also many articles of European furniture, and amongst them, two clocks, and several pier glasses. The fort had been well built and was extensive; but the town, covered by a thick hedge only, formed one face of it, and contained many excellent houses. It had, indeed, never been a place of very great strength; but our local information was never such as could be relied upon, and no European in the camp knew any thing about the state of the country. I had myself, to my shame be it mentioned, actually passed through it, a few months before, and been entertained by Wella Murdoo in his palace at Sherewéle; but had not then the slightest idea of ever again entering it much less as a foe. The Punjalumcoorchy men had been driven to take up arms as their only resource; but Murdoo had no grievance to redress, so far as ever came within my knowledge, and as his rebellion was therefore gratuitous, I could not feel so much for him as for the Cat. The people of his country were also by no means equal to the others as soldiers; had they been so, we should have had many more difficulties to have surmounted: indeed, it is my serious opinion, that twenty thousand Punjalumcoorches, would have been invincible in his country.

October 2nd.—The detachment under Colonel Spry was relieved by a brigade under Lieutenant Colonel Alexander M^cLeod, and the former returned to camp.

On the 3rd,* a division under Major Sheppard, marched from camp at sun-rise, with orders to proceed, *via* Caliacole, to Mungalum, where it was understood we were to meet a large body of the enemy. We arrived there, however, without opposition, at half-past two, P.M., and formed our camp with the rear to the village, and an immense tank in our front, on the bund, or bank, of which our quarter-guards were posted. The villagers, on seeing a white flag at our approach, came out to meet us, saying, that Murdoo, with two thousand men, had been lately there, but had retreated into the jungle; and in the evening the head men from nine villages came in to take Cowle from Major Sheppard. The road from Caliacole to this place was entirely through jungle, in some parts very thick; and though hardly wide enough for carriages, was in other respects very good, when we had removed the thorns and milk hedges, which were occasionally thrown across it. There was only one barrier on the skirt of the

* On this day, having had a dispute with my commanding officer, I resigned my staff situation, and joined my corps; but, in justice to Colonel Agnew, who had ever been a kind friend to me, and who is now no more, I must say, that he did all he could to make me retain the Quarter mastership. Words had, however, passed in the heat of the moment, to which I could not bring myself to be again subject. In a few months afterwards our intimacy was renewed, and he was kinder to me than ever, until the day of his lamented death. My always accompanying my own corps, when engaged with the enemy, was the cause of our disagreement.

jungle, about six furlongs from Mungalum, intended to defend the approach from Ramnad ; and this our Pioneers demolished in about two hours, and then returned under an escort to Caliacole.

Colonel Agnew having returned to Madras on the 4th of October, we were again put under the orders of Major Colin Macaulay, and remained inactive, waiting to hear from him. The head men of fifty villages came in to-day to take cowle, and brought intelligence that the Murdoos had disbanded their forces ; and, with only two hundred followers, had secreted themselves in the Shangrapoy jungle. This we considered as very good news, for we were not a little weary of such a tedious and unprofitable warfare.

What followed afterwards, was, indeed, of little importance, the enemy no where making head against us ; parties were sent to hunt them down in the different jungles, and I had the bad luck to be in full pursuit of one of the Murdoos, for whom a large reward was advertised, when a few of our ally Peons fired at, wounded, and took him, close to our party ; thus depriving us of about ten thousand pagodas, or four thousand pounds sterling. In a few days both the Murdoos, with their families, Cátábómiá Naig, Dalawai Pilly, and the Dumb Brother, were all taken, and the men all hanged, excepting Dora-Swamy, the youngest son of Cheena Murdoo, and Dallawai Pilly, who, being of less consequence, were transported for life to Prince of Wales's Island, with seventy of their devoted followers ; and thus ended this most harassing warfare, in which the expenditure of life had been

profuse, and the result any thing but honourable to the survivors.

Of the two Murdoos, so frequently mentioned in this narrative, the elder brother was called Wella, or Velli Murdoo, but he had nothing to do with the management of the country. He was a great sportsman, and gave up his whole time to hunting and shooting. Being a man of uncommon stature and strength, his chief delight was to encounter the monsters of the woods ; and it was even said, that he could bend a common Arcot rupee with his fingers. Unencumbered with the cares or trappings of government, he led a sort of wandering life ; and occasionally visited his European neighbours at Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Madura, by whom he was much esteemed. If any one wanted game, a message sent to Velli Murdoo was sure to procure it ; or if he wished to partake in the the sports of the field, Velli Murdoo was the man to conduct him to the spot, and to insure his success, as well as to watch over his safety. Did a royal tiger appear, while his guest was surrounded by hardy and powerful pikemen, Velli Murdoo was the first to meet the monster and despatch him. A life such as this, although it may appear idle and insignificant to those accustomed to the safety of a well-regulated country, was very far from being without it's usefulness, in a district overrun with jungle, and infested by beasts of prey. The minor game was, however, politely decoyed, or driven in front of his European friend, who might thus, with less danger, kill hogs, elks, deer, pea-fowl, &c. in abundance. From this Oriental Nimrod I had received many marks of attention and kindness,

when stationed at Madura, in the year 1795, and then one of the youngest subalterns in the place ; a pretty certain proof of his disinterestedness.

The Cheena Murdoo was the ostensible sovereign of an extensive and fertile country, and his general residence was at Sherewéle. Though of a dark complexion, he was a portly, handsome, and affable man, of the kindest manners, and most easy access ; and though ruling over a people to whom his very nod was a law, he lived in an open Palace, without a single guard ; indeed, when I visited him in February, 1795, every man who chose to come in, had free ingress and egress, while every voice called down the blessing of the Almighty upon the father of his people. From a merely casual visit, when passing through his country, he became my friend, and during my continuance at Madura, never failed to send me presents of fine rice and fruit ; particularly a large rough-skinned orange, remarkably sweet, which I have never met with in such perfection in any other part of India. It was he, also, who first taught me to throw the spear, and hurl the collery stick, a weapon scarcely known elsewhere, but in a skilful hand, capable of being thrown to a certainty to any distance within one hundred yards. Yet this very man, I was afterwards destined by the fortune of war, to chase like a wild beast ; to see badly wounded, and captured by common Peons ; then lingering with a fractured thigh in prison ; and lastly, to behold him, with his gallant brother, and no less gallant son, surrounded by their principal adherents, hanging in chains upon a common gibbet !

Of the *Cat*, I have already made mention, but I cannot

close this account of horrors, without a few words, in memory of one of the most extraordinary mortals I ever knew; a near relation of Catabómiá Naig, who was both deaf and dumb, was well known by the English under the appellation of Dumby, or the Dumb Brother; by the Mussulmans, as Mookah; and by the Hindoos, as Oomee; all having the like signification. He was a tall, slender lad, of a very sickly appearance, yet possessing that energy of mind, which, in troubled times, always gains pre-eminence; whilst, in his case, the very defect which would have impeded another, proved a powerful auxiliary in the minds of ignorant and superstitious idolaters. The Oomee was adored; his slightest sign was an oracle, and every man flew to execute whatever he commanded. No council assembled at which he did not preside; no daring adventure was undertaken, which he did not lead. His method of representing the English was extremely simple: he collected a few little pieces of straw, arranged them on the palm of his left hand to represent the English force; then, with other signs, for the time, &c., he drew the other hand across and swept them off, with a whizzing sound from his mouth, which was the signal for attack; and he was generally the foremost in executing those plans, for our annihilation. Whatever undisciplined valour could effect, was sure to be achieved wherever he appeared; though poor Oomee was at last doomed to grace a gallows, in reward for the most disinterested and purest patriotism. He had escaped, as it were, by miracle, in every previous engagement, although every soldier in our camp was most anxious to destroy so notorious and cele-

brated a chieftain. On the 24th of May, when the fort was wrenched from them, and the whole were retreating, pursued by our cavalry, poor Oomee fell, covered with wounds, near a small village, about three miles from Punalumcoorchy. As soon as our troops had returned from the pursuit, Colonel Agnew instantly ordered the Eteapooreans to follow them till night, offering rewards for any men of consequence, dead or alive. Our allies, consequently, set out with great glee, somewhat late in the evening; and in the meantime, an appearance of quiet induced some women of the village to proceed to the field of carnage, in the hope of finding some of the sufferers capable of receiving succour. Amongst the heaps of slain they discovered the son of one of the party, still breathing, and after weeping over him, they began to raise him up, when exerting his little remaining strength, he exclaimed, "Oh mother! let *me* die, but try to save the life of *Swamy*, who lies wounded near me." The word he used, fully justifies my assertion of their adoration, as it's literal meaning is a deity. The woman, animated by the same feelings, immediately obeyed her dying son, and speedily found Oomee, weltering in his blood, but still alive; and these extraordinary matrons, immediately lifted, and carried him to the mother's house, where they were busily employed stanching his wounds, when they were alarmed by a sudden shout from the Eteapooreans, in pursuit. There is nothing like the ingenuity of woman at such a crisis. These miserable, and apparently half-imbecile creatures conceived a plan, in an instant, which not only proved successful, but most probably saved the lives of several

others. They covered the body over with a cloth, and set up a shriek of lamentation peculiar to the circumstances. The Eteapooreans on their arrival, demanded the cause, and being informed, that a poor lad had just expired of the small-pox, fled for their lives out of the village, without ever turning to look behind them. How he was afterwards preserved, I could never learn; but, certainly, he was present, and as active as usual, on the 7th and 10th of June; and was taken alive at the conclusion of the campaign, and hanged along with his gallant and ill-fated relation, on the tower we had erected in the plain, before Punjalumcoorchy; now the only monument of that once-dreaded fortress, if we except the burying-ground of six or seven hundred of our slaughtered comrades, in it's vicinity.

No sooner was order again restored than the southern corps returned to Pallancottah; and I was detached to command Tutucorine, wither all the rebels destined for transportation were sent in the first instance; and there I had the melancholy satisfaction of lightening the chains of Dora Swamy, the younger and only surviving son of my poor quondam friend, Cheena Murdoo, a youth of about fifteen, condemned to perpetual banishment. With a mild and dignified resignation, this amiable young man bore his cruel fate without a murmur; but such was the melancholy expression in his fine countenance, that it was impossible to see and not commiserate him. As he was consigned to my personal charge, to connive at his escape was impossible; but being under the same roof with me, in the large fortified factory, I was enabled to free him from his

ignominious fetters, and separate him from the mass of his former menials. His person was equally secure, in a commodious chamber, enjoying the company of his jailor and family, and fed with wholesome meals, dressed by a respectable man of his own caste and religion. A vessel being commissioned by Government to carry the seventy convicts to Penang, Lieutenant Rockhead of the 6th regiment was appointed to command the escort. Whether this appointment proceeded from the mere chance of routine, or from particular selection, I know not; but never could it have fallen on a man more fitted for the humane and honourable discharge of such a duty. I had known him intimately in the field, and he fortunately arrived in time to become personally acquainted with the now-condemned sovereign of the country in which we had so lately been employed. Captain Lee, who commanded the ship, had also an opportunity of participating in our feelings towards his future passengers, particularly the captive Prince, while the requisite stores and provisions were collecting and removing to the vessel.

Never shall I forget the day, when, on the wharf at Tutucorine, I consigned my charge over to Lieutenant Rockhead. I still seem to see the combination of affection and despair which marked the fine countenance of my young friend Dora Swamy, as I handed him into the boat; and the manly and silent misery, which his companions in affliction displayed, on quitting their dear native land for ever. Here, to all appearance, our acquaintance was to end; but fortune had still another pang in store for me, for being forced to sea for my health, in the year 1818, and landing

at Penang, I received a sudden visit from a miserable decrepit old man : who, when, without the most distant recollection of his person or countenance, I demanded his name and business, looked for some time in my face, the tears ran down his furrowed cheek, and at length he uttered the word "Dora Swamy !" It came like a dagger to my heart ; the conviction was instantaneous. My poor young prisoner stood before me ; changed, dreadfully changed in outward appearance, but still with the same mind, and cherishing the remembrance of former days and former friendships. The casual hearing of my name had revived his affection, and, I much fear, the mistaken hope, that an advancement in rank might afford me the means of lessening his misery. He even entreated me to be the bearer of letters to his surviving family, but this I understood was contrary to the existing orders ; since, though I found the Governor, the late Colonel Bannerman, my former commanding officer, kind and considerate, it did not appear to rest with him, and I was compelled to decline. Let me however, in conclusion, express a hope that this narrative may fall into the hands of some kind-hearted Director of that honourable Company, which I have served so long, and be the means of alleviating, if not entirely removing the sufferings of an innocent man ; the country being now completely settled, and no chance of any ill effects, as regards state policy, likely to accrue from such a compassionate measure.

CHAPTER V.

Tranquebar — Cuddalore — Sadras — The Garden of Sautghur — The Mysore Country — Bangalore — Seringapatam — Troops for the Mahrattah War — Poonah — Capture of Ahmednugger.

TRANQUÉBAR,

I now pass over a period of little interest, and proceed to the month of August 1802, when going on furlough to Bengal, I landed on the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, situate on the coast of Coromandel, nearly equi-distant from Pondicherry and Negapatam; and only a few miles from the English settlement of Nagore. The landing here is much easier effected than at any other port on the same coast, north of Tutucorine. The surf is in itself trifling; the boats are large and strongly built, considerably longer than those of Masulipatam, Madras, or Pondicherry; and instead of running on the beach as at the two latter, they enter a small creek which carries their cargoes almost up to the town in smooth water. The place is large, and was originally fortified; the works, however, are now much decayed, and could never have been very formidable. They consist of a wall running into salient and re-entering angles, joined by curtains not

cannon-proof, and without any good bastions. There is a small quadrangular citadel on the south-western angle, much dilapidated by time and the spray of the sea, in which is the council chamber, with a light-house and a flag and signal staff erected on the roof. There are many noble buildings in this town, but they are so jumbled together in narrow streets, that the effect of their beauty is entirely lost; and the whole appears a confused mass of pillars, doors, and windows, thrown together without either order or system. They must consequently be exceedingly close in such a climate, but most of the respectable inhabitants have garden-houses outside, at the distance of from one to three miles from the fort. Here I had an opportunity of putting to the test the humanity of the Danish Doctor named Folley: a servant having suffered extremely from sea-sickness, was carried on shore and kindly lodged in the house of a gentleman with whom I resided; when this medical gentleman paying a morning visit there, I immediately entreated him to see the poor dying native, which he positively refused, and abruptly left me. It is to be hoped there are very few such Doctors in Denmark. The servant died in the house.

An unfortunate jealousy of our nation, at this time, rendered it unsafe for an Englishman to mix much with the inhabitants, and some lives having been lost on both sides, I studiously avoided all promiscuous intercourse; though on a former occasion, some years previous, I had spent a few very pleasant days there. Provisions are both reasonable and abundant; but Tranquebar is not by any means a desirable residence, from the extreme heat and the nature of the soil.

CUDDALORE,

On the sea-coast, fifty-eight miles by land north of Tranquebar, was once a place of considerable importance in Eastern history, though now an insignificant spot, and almost abandoned by the English. Colonel Dupont, an old invalid officer, was in the nominal command, with a few veterans as a garrison. The fortifications of this place are nearly three miles in extent, entirely open to the sea, there being on that face, a river and marshy ground nearly impassable; and the works then going to ruin, appeared to have been pretty strong originally. The houses in the interior are mostly small, and built by the natives; though about two miles distant outside, across a riverfull of alligators, there were some good English garden-houses, near the high road to Pondicherry, which is distant about sixteen miles.

Passing through Pondicherry, now considerably advanced in it's decline, we proceeded to Allumparva, an insignificant village twenty-six miles further, where a Portuguese hostess received guests at a very moderate charge, and feasted them with oysters, so celebrated all over the East, that in those days they were constantly sent from hence to Pondicherry, and even to Madras. This miserable hotel deserves especial mention, because it was the second of two only, to be met with all over the Carnatic: no such accommodations being customary in the eastern roads. We next came, however, to the first and best of these Oriental inns, at Sadras, distant twenty-two miles further on the sea-coast, or low road to Madras.

SADRAS,

In its present state, is a small Dutch town, very pleasantly situated within a few hundred yards of the sea; the ground being green and hard, which is a very uncommon sight on this coast, and the air fresh and cool. There are several neat and commodious houses on the sea-face, in one of which lived Nöná Mállee, or Miss Isaacks, one of the greatest curiosities in the East. This enormous spinster had formerly weighed twenty-one stone, but at this period she was by severe illness reduced to fifteen; and she shortly after paid the debt of nature. Having relations at Negapatam, she had occasionally performed the journey in a palanquin made expressly for her use, and it was asserted was then carried by no less than thirty-six bearers; while other Europeans had but twelve, and many a fat Brahmin was actually moved about at the same rate by four: the sacred character of the latter, no doubt lightening his apparent weight; but could an European mountain, although a young one, which her native appellation indicated, be carried by fewer sable and imbecile emmets? This young lady kept the inn or hotel at Sadras, where she lived well herself, and never starved her customers; but being in the habit of favouring them with her company at meals, the sight of her shrivelled form, her skin hanging in flakes, for all the world like the hide of a young rhinoceros, was not exactly calculated to improve our appetites at the dinner table.

On a rising and commanding spot, close to the sea-shore, stand the ruins of a regular square brick fort, the curtains of which are one hundred and fifty yards, and the

bastions forty yards square. All the bastions have, however, since been blown up, and time has otherwise dismantled this fortress, once a complete model. I never saw finer military buildings than it has contained: bomb-proof barracks, guard-rooms, &c., with large magazines under each bastion. In it I also discovered many handsome monuments, one of which, without the slightest mark of decay, had on it an inscription perfectly legible, dated in 1682, being then one hundred and twenty years old.

I pass over both my journey to Madras, and voyage to and from Calcutta, as containing nothing of an interesting, or novel nature, and return to Vellore in January 1803, whence I proceeded to Seringapatam, to join Major General Wellesley's army, then about to take the field against the Mahrattahs. From Vellore to Laulpett is a distance of about thirty miles, where there is an excellent choultry for the accommodation of travellers; and within a mile of it, is the famous garden of Sautghur, of considerable extent, and containing quantities of the finest fruit in India. This garden, which was originally completely protected by numerous fortifications, had five hundred gardeners in regular pay, besides a large garrison to guard it; and, with the contiguous town, a very fine one, is situated in a valley, between a range of rugged hills, formerly fortified, and the Ghauts, which separate the Carnatic from Mysore. The term in Hindostanee, intimates the number of those mountains; *saut* meaning seven, and *ghur* a hill-fort. These hill-forts were formerly garrisoned by the Nabob Wallajah, to whom they belonged; but were now abandoned and overgrown with rank jungle, whilst the garden, still the property of the nominal successor, had about

thirty gardeners only to keep a small part of it in order, and transmit the produce to him at Madras. A considerable quantity of both the attar and conserve of roses was made here, but these two articles were kept exclusively for their master; though a large portion of the fruit was disposed of, and the money carried to his account.

The country, all the way from Vellore to the Ghauts, is both verdant and beautiful, being exceedingly well watered, and the road as far as Laulpett, has an avenue of banian and other trees, to shelter travellers. The road from Laulpett to the Ghaut had been lately repaired, but it passes through a good deal of uneven ground, with a river and nullahs, which constantly injure it for wheel carriages. The foot of the pass is about four miles from Laulpett, and as very considerable pains had been taken to make it perfectly practicable, I now found the Peddanaig Doorgum Pass, in a very improved state from what I had experienced in the time of Lord Cornwallis.* It is four miles and a half in length, and said to be nearly a mile in perpendicular height, above the Carnatic. The prospect from the road, about half way up, is grand and picturesque beyond description, with the beautiful valley which you have just quitted in the fore-ground, and a succession of hills and mountains towering to the skies, in the centre. The Sautghur Hills in particular, stand prominent in majestic beauty, to which the ruins of their former fortifications, peeping here and there through the deep green foliage, add considerable interest. This Pass was formerly for-

* Doorgum, or Droog, meaning a hill-fort, in Telinga, Tamul, and Canarese.

tified, and had it been defended by Tippoo, when we first ascended it, must have cost us very dear. At the summit, and only about a mile from the road, stands the hill-fort, from whence it takes its name, breached and dilapidated, but still frowning on the plain below. A miserable bungalow, erected for the *discomfort* of travellers, is to be found about a mile further on, with a small village and a very fine tank, which gives it's name to the spot; *Naiken Yaree*, meaning Pedda Naig's Tank. Here, travellers, whose cattle and attendants are pretty well fatigued by the steep ascent, generally put up, and if they unfortunately move light, that is, without tents, they will all agree with me, in the appellation I have bestowed on a building, which I have known up to 1821, for twenty years. It was always leaky, with broken doors and windows, on a spot where the extreme cold of at least thirty degrees, is experienced in the temperature of the night, and little less by day; and what makes this remark the more poignant is, that for the last twenty-five years, every other stage on the road from Madras to Seringapatam, has afforded ample shelter and accommodation for travellers, who would therefore require tents at this one inhospitable place only, in a road of three hundred miles. From Naiken Yaree to Bangalore, a distance of eighty-two miles, the road was capital, with excellent bungalows, erected at all the intervening stages, by the Mysore government. In this route is Colaar, the birth-place, as well as the burial-place of the famous Hyder Ally Cawn, about half-way between the Pass and Bangalore; it is a compact and picturesque fortress, with the most intricate gateway imaginable, and is situated on the

northern bank of a very fine tank, a short distance from the town, which is large and respectable. The family burial-ground of the man whose courage and abilities raised him from a very inferior station to the throne, with a beautiful garden in it's vicinity, is at the western extremity, where a rugged mountain, at a short distance, frowns over the whole. The tradition of the place is, that this mountain was formerly the abode of some giant tribe, whose habitations are still to be traced in monstrous fragments on the summit; and though the original possessors are all extinct, no inferior mortal of the present day has ever dared to venture up, to ascertain the fact. I have on more than one occasion, by holding out considerable pecuniary temptations, endeavoured to induce some of the natives to accompany me up, but failed, from their superstitious credulity; and it was far too rugged and inaccessible, to be attempted by any one who did not know the way. I suspect the truth is, that it was once the secure retreat of banditti; for it is notorious that travellers, both Europeans and natives, were not only robbed, but occasionally murdered in this neighbourhood. Indeed, at the very time when I visited it, Colonel Davis of the 25th dragoons, who was travelling the same road, only two stages a head of us, awoke in the night, when a gang of robbers was just making off with his writing box. Unarmed as he was, he rushed out of his tent, and was instantly assailed by six armed men. A Portuguese servant following him, threw himself between his master and the first ruffian, and was killed. The Colonel, however, being a powerful man, and a good swords-man, snatching a sabre from one of the

assailants, and cutting away to the right and left, was soon master of the field, with one of the enemy dead at his feet, and two more desperately wounded, whom his servants secured; the rest unfortunately escaped. It is said, though Hyder Naig, afterwards Hyder Ally Cawn, was originally buried at Colaar; yet that his son, Tippoo Sultaun, had the body removed to the magnificent Mausoleum in the Lall Baugh, at Seringapatam.

Colaar is also so famous for a breed of vicious horses, that, all over the Peninsula, whenever a horse turns out ill, he is called Colarie. The country from thence to Bangalore is both fertile and beautiful; several fine flourishing towns being on the high road, with bungalows at each, for travellers.

BANGALORE.

The fort of Bangalore, originally shaped much like an egg, with a high stone rampart and deep ditch, was breached by us in 1791, but when again delivered over to Tippoo, he dismantled it. Poorniah, the new Rajah's minister, had, however, now completely rebuilt it, on the former foundation, and it had an English garrison, under Major Andrew M'Cally. The pettah is a very large and wealthy place, with a strong-bound hedge; at the storm of which, Colonel Moorhouse and several officers lost their lives. I did not perceive any alteration in it since that time, though the present cantonment was not then in existence.

From Bangalore to Seringapatam, a distance of seventy-eight miles, there is a capital road, through a very fine

and flourishing country. Our camp was pitched about four miles to the northward of the fort; and I joined my corps on the 22nd of January, 1803. The Honourable Major-general Arthur Wellesley, who then commanded Seringapatam, as well as our force, lived in the Dowlut Baugh, on the island; and in the short interval before our march, he manœuvred his future army, and taught us that uniformity of movement, which was afterwards to enable him to conquer foes twenty times as numerous, and to acquire for himself a name, which can never perish in the East. In the pursuit and annihilation of Dhoondia, the Sepoy General had already laid the foundation of his future fame; but little did any mortal at this time foresee the resources of that master-mind, which the approaching campaign was destined to develop.

SERINGAPATAM,

Is formed upon the angle of an island, between the Cauvery and Coleroon rivers, where its fort rises to astonish the beholders, by a display of labour and art, without much science; the works on the land side being enormous and commanding, while those towards the river are all ill chosen and deficient; knowing that river to be, as at certain seasons it turned out, perfectly fordable. The fort is of great extent, encompassed by two entire walls, and two deep and formidable ditches; with many good bastions and several commanding cavaliers, of which the natives of India are exceedingly fond, and the gates, as usual, in the East, covered by numerous extra works. The principal fault appeared to us, to be its approaching too near to the bank

of the river, from whence alone there was a chance of breaching; and from the extent of the interior, and nature of the ground, it was at one time proposed to our government by Colonel Caldwell, an able engineer, to cut off the part so exposed, and erect new works, half a mile in its rear, at an expense of several lacs of pagodas. This alteration, ably executed, would, in our hands, render it impregnable; but in the present state of affairs in the East, no works are necessary to insure the English dominion. A mild and just exercise of authority is the foundation, the affection and fidelity of a numerous and well-disciplined army, the ramparts, and their bayonets, the parapets, through which, while they continue unimpaired, no enemy has power to penetrate. Tippoo had a beautiful Palace inside, and there was a Mosque of uncommon elegance, with high minarets, near the Bangalore gate, from whence the whole surrounding country could be distinctly seen.

On the same island, three miles to the eastward, was the Laul Baugh, a lovely garden, containing a splendid Palace in the eastern style, and the celebrated Mosque and tomb of black granite, in which are deposited the remains of Hyder Ally, the Bahauder, and his son Tippoo, the Sultaun of Mysore, very richly decorated with satin and kinkaubs, from the Prophet's tomb at Mecca, and flowers daily strewed all over the floor. Several Moorish Priests and devotees reside near it, paid by our government. Over the outer door of the sepulchre are certain Persian distiches, embossed in granite, with a verse by Tippoo himself over the interior. English guards were placed at the entrances, to protect the tombs from pollution, and the attendants

from insult; in short, every thing in this solemn spot, bearing a semblance of respect for a departed friend, must tend to raise the English Government in the estimation of every native of any sense or discrimination in the country.

The Shahranganjam Pett, on the other side of the island, is a very large and respectable town, containing a rich and numerous population; but from the lowness of its situation, and the proximity to the river, it is extremely unhealthy. The Dowlut Baugh, in another direction, about a mile from the fort, is a very neat and well cultivated garden, with a Palace of uncommon lightness and beauty, close to the river, and in which the Great Captain of the age then resided. One of the halls was adorned with native representations of Baillie's defeat, with every exaggeration to the prejudice of the Europeans; which paintings, being somewhat impaired, the General, it was said, paid a large sum for their renovation: at all events, when I saw them, they were entire and perfect. Before I take leave of Seringapatam, I must mention that it is a most unhealthy spot, and since it came into our possession, has been the grave of thousands. Tippoo was, indeed, so well convinced of this, that, until driven to seek shelter under its walls, the troops composing its garrison were always quartered at some distance outside, and only the men sufficient for its protection, kept at a time on the island.

On the 8th of February, the army destined for the Mahrattah country, made its first movement; and was composed of the following corps:—

The Staff consisted of Captain R. Barclay, Deputy Adjutant-general; Captain Cunningham, Deputy

Quarter-master-general, and Captains West and Bellingham, Aids-de-camp.

His Majesty's 33rd regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Elliot.

2nd regiment of Native cavalry,—Major Burrows.

Park and artillery,—Captain Steel.

1st battalion of the 2nd regiment of Native infantry,— Lieutenant-colonel Griffin.

1st battalion of the 3rd regiment of Native infantry,— Captain Vesey.

2nd battalion of the 3rd regiment of Native infantry,— Major Kennett.

1st battalion of the 8th regiment of Native infantry,— Lieutenant-colonel Orrock,

2nd battalion of the 12th regiment of Native infantry,— Lieutenant-colonel M'Leod.

2nd battalion of the 18th regiment of Native infantry,— Captain Boardman.

With two thousand of Poorniah's horse, and five thousand of his infantry.

I now pass over a very hot and uninteresting march, and at once bring our camp close to the grand army under General Stewart, and the centre army under General Campbell, on the plains near Hurryhur, on the 8th of March, after having come a distance of two hundred miles; when we ascertained that the three senior Generals, Stewart, Campbell, and Baird, were to remain with an army of reserve, and we were to push on, under our own General, formed and brigaded as follows:—

The cavalry brigade, under the command of Colonel

- Thomas Dallas; and Captain A. Grant, of the Native infantry, Brigade-major.
- His Majesty's 19th light dragoons, — Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell.
- 4th Native cavalry, — Major A. Floyer.
- 5th Native cavalry, — Major Leonard.
- 7th Native cavalry, — Major Huddleston.
- The 1st infantry brigade, under the command of Colonel Harness; with Captain Tolfrey, Brigade-major; and Lieutenant Monin, Quarter-master.
- Scotch brigade, — Major Ferrier.
- His Majesty's 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment, — Lieutenant-colonel Griffin.
- 2nd battalion of the 3rd regiment, — Major Kennet.
- 2nd battalion of the 12th regiment, — Lieutenant-colonel M'Leod.
- The 2nd infantry brigade under Colonel Wallace; with Captain Agnew, Brigade-major, and Captain Campbell, Quarter-master.
- His Majesty's 74th regiment, — Major Swinton.
- 1st battalion of the 3rd regiment of Native infantry, — Captain Vesey.
- 1st battalion of the 8th regiment of Native infantry, — Lieutenant-colonel Orrock.
- 2nd battalion of the 18th regiment of Native infantry, — Lieutenant-colonel Chalmers.
- The park of artillery was under Captain Beauman; and the Pioneers were commanded by Captain Heitland.
- From Hurryhur to Poonah, a march of three hundred and fifty miles, was accomplished by the General and

cavalry on the 20th of April, and by the rest of the army on the 22nd ; the General having made a forced march of forty-two miles, during the night of the 19th, to save the town from being plundered and destroyed by Amrut Row, and a large body of his followers, left there by Holkar.

POONAH,

Washed on the north by the Mootah river, is about three miles in length, and two in breadth, and was said to contain one hundred and forty thousand houses, which, by a moderate calculation, would give six hundred thousand inhabitants ; but this seemed an exaggeration. It was, however, extremely crowded with both habitations and people, of all descriptions ; and the apparent confidence with which articles of merchandize were every where exposed, even on our arrival, seemed to give a flat contradiction to the reports, which had induced the General to make a forced march : since Amrut Row not only left the place, without doing any mischief, but had treated the Peishwa's family, left in his custody by Holkar, with great kindness and delicacy, and placed them all safely in Parbutty, a celebrated Pagoda on a hill in the town. The streets, as in most native towns, are extremely narrow, and full of bazars, which contain an innumerable quantity of articles of merchandize, the produce not only of India, but of China and Europe ; of which the Parsees have the most extensive and richest assortments, and the Borahs next. The houses are some three and four stories high, but built without much regard to taste or symmetry ; though, being diversified in size, shape, and colour, they have a pretty



FORT OF AHMEDNUGGER.
(From the Breaching Battery.)

appearance from a distance. The view from the opposite side of the river is the most imposing; as that part of the town which is washed by the stream, being faced with stone, descending, in many parts, by regular steps to the water's edge, and having trees intermingled with the houses, presents an appearance very far from despicable; though a stranger, set down at once in any of the streets, could hardly credit the assertion. The fruit bazars are well supplied with musk, and water melons, plantains, figs, dates, raisins, mangos, pomegranates, wood-apples, almonds, and a great variety of country vegetables; in short, it appeared to us a place of great wealth, and to concentrate all the trade of the empire.

In this neighbourhood we remained encamped and inactive for six weeks; the army not moving ground till the 4th of June. In the interim, however, the Peishwa came back to his capital, with a strong escort under Colonel Murray; and we exchanged the 2nd battalion of the 3rd for His Majesty's 78th regiment; the Scotch brigade having already been sent to join Colonel Stevenson's force, at some distance from us.

AHMEDNUGGER.

Very much in the dark with regard to Indian politics, we had naturally concluded, that as we came to succour the Peishwa, his friends would be our friends, and his foes our likeliest opponents; but here we reckoned without our host, for the man we were now to attack was not Holkar who had deposed him, but Scindiah, who had upheld him, and actually suffered a defeat, near Poonah, in

his cause! Having never troubled my head with the intricacy of state affairs, I have, therefore, never learned the real cause of this war; but as an idle life in camp is always most irksome to a soldier, we hailed with delight the order for advancing, not much caring who the enemy might be, or what was the bone of contention. We commenced our march, as I have mentioned, on the King's birth-day, and suffered much from heavy rains, till the 8th of August; when the weather clearing up, we advanced with extra precautions and extra ammunition, to the vicinity of Ahmednugger, the Pettah of which it was resolved should be immediately stormed; for which purpose the General selected Colonels Harness and Wallace, and Captain Vesey, to lead. The Pettah of Ahmednugger is a very large and regular native town, surrounded by a wall of stone and mud, about eighteen feet high, and very neatly built, with small bastions at every hundred yards, but no rampart to the curtains; the wall being rounded off at the top, and scarcely broad enough for a man to stand upon. It has several gateways, and many high buildings in the interior, with narrow streets, and mud walls of different compounds, all contributing to aid a powerful defence; but, alas! for its security, the determined spirit was wanting.

We had not hitherto seen the face of an enemy, and now for the first time perceived the walls of both the Pettah and fort lined with men, whose arms glittered in the sun, whilst another body of troops was encamped outside, between them. As we stood with the General, reconnoitring from a small elevated spot, within long gun-

shot of both places, he directed the leaders where they were to fix their ladders : but unaware that there was no rampart, we were ordered to escalate the curtains, without breaching. The fort lay on our right hand, and the pettah in front, within gun-shot of each other ; when the first column was ordered to attempt a long curtain to the extreme left, having a high building immediately in it's rear. The ladders were speedily planted, and the assault made ; but each man as he ascended, fell, hurled from the top of the wall. This unequal struggle lasted about ten minutes, when they desisted, with the loss of about fifteen killed, and fifty wounded ; amongst whom were Captains Duncan Grant, Mackenzie, and Humberstone, and Lieutenant Anderson, killed ; and Lieutenant Larkins mortally wounded. The third party to the right, advanced nearly at the same moment, but a gun-elephant taking fright at the firing from the fort, ran down the centre of our column, which occasioned no little confusion, and some delay, giving the enemy more time and means to oppose the first attack. Being furnished with two scaling-ladders only, we reached the curtain and planted them at the very re-entering angle, formed by a small bastion, the enemy playing some heavy guns on us, from the fort. Such a rush was made at first, that one ladder broke down, with our gallant leader and several men, and we were forced to work hard with the other. Captain Vesey was then a very stout heavy man ; but what impediment, short of death, can arrest a soldier at such a crisis ? He was soon on the bastion, surrounded by men, determined to carry every thing before them. Our two European companies had all scrambled up, and

about one hundred and fifty, or two hundred of the 3rd, when a cannon-shot smashed our last ladder, and broke the thigh of my Subadar. We were now a party of three hundred men, left solely to our own resources, and dashing down we scoured all the streets near the wall, the enemy only once making a stand, and suffering accordingly. At length, arriving near a gate, marked out for the centre attack, and a loud peal of cannon and musquetry from without, announcing the second party, under Colonel Wallace, we drove all the defenders before us, and some of our men opened the gate whilst they were battering at it from the outside, by which one of our party was killed. Our loss was eleven killed, and twenty-two wounded; including Lieutenant Plenderleath killed, and Lieutenant Nielson wounded. Our two parties now uniting under Colonel Wallace, soon succeeded in clearing the place of our opponents; whom we afterwards learned were one thousand five hundred Arabs, and about three thousand Mahrattahs, few, if any of whom reached the fort, but were forced to fly in the other direction. The second column had but few casualties; and thus we had the quiet possession of a very fine and rich town, with a few prisoners, by three o'clock. Our total loss in killed and wounded being one hundred and sixty men.

Captain Duncan Grant, the first man killed in our army, was a young officer of great promise; with an uncommonly fine form, and great personal strength, he possessed a kind and affectionate disposition, a liberality of soul, and a flow of spirit, which endeared him to every one who had the happiness of knowing him. In the same corps,

His Majesty's 78th Highland regiment, there was an old and most respectable officer, Captain Browne, who commanded the grenadiers, and had the Piper attached to his company. This gentleman was, by many years, older than any other in the regiment, and having been unfortunate in promotion, being a former brother subaltern with our General, and an Englishman, did not mix much with his new comrades. One evening, about the beginning of August, Grant had given a party to a number of young men, at his own tent in the lines, and sending for the Piper, they amused themselves by listening to his pibrochs, and dancing to his reels. To such a party it would have been an idle compliment to have invited Captain Browne, but situated as their tents were, it was impossible for him not to be aware of what appeared to him, the unlicensed use made of *his* Piper; and consequently, the next evening, when the officers assembled in front of the parade, he addressed himself to Captain Grant, and expressed his surprise that he should have sent for the Piper, without a previous application to him: to which Grant replied, "That he did not conceive such an application necessary, and that he should send for the man again, whenever he pleased." Captain Browne, with great solemnity, exclaimed, "Sir, you are a boy; and nobody but a boy would tell me so."

The parade broke up, and Captain Grant requested a Lieutenant to go to Captain Browne, and tell him, that he could not *rest satisfied, without some apology* for the expressions he had made use of; at the same time declaring, that he bore him no enmity, and would be *satisfied with the slightest concession*.

The man he had unfortunately chosen as a friend on this occasion, proved unworthy of his confidence, and instead of preventing a meeting between two most estimable men, he was accused of fermenting both parties, until a fatal challenge was given and received. They met and fired together; the ball from poor Grant's pistol, depriving his brother officer of his life, and the service of a soldier of acknowledged worth; and that, only two or three days before they were likely to be called upon to risk their lives, thus wantonly exposed, in the cause of their country. The execrated mortal, who was suspected of foul play in this affair, being two days afterwards engaged in a personal quarrel with another brother officer, and displaying therein a most brutal ferocity, was turned out of camp by General Wellesley the night before we marched to Ahmednugger, "that such a wretch might not have an opportunity of sharing in the honours of an army, which he had thus disgraced." Poor Grant was placed in arrest, and seemed deeply to lament the mischief he had done. When riding by my side on the march, he suddenly seized my hand with energy, and pressed it, without uttering a word; then rode off, and unarmed as he was, rushed up the first to the top of the ladder, from which he fell, a lifeless corpse! It is scarcely necessary to say, that being in arrest, he had no business to be in the way of danger this day; but his mind was tortured by remorse, and his high spirit led him to the very post he would have chosen, at the head of men by whom he was greatly beloved.

Of the other officers who shared his victorious death, in this assault, Captain Humberstone was also an excellent

soldier and an amiable young man. Lieutenant Larkins had, I believe, only very recently joined the regiment, and I had not the pleasure of his acquaintance, though I had known the rest of the regiment a few months previously, when quartered at Fort William, in Bengal. Lieutenant Plenderleath of the 3rd, was killed while walking singly on the top of the wall, away from that portion of the regiment which we had, *nolens volens*, left outside. How he climbed up I know not, as both the ladders were then broken,* but he was supposed to have been trying to get to the gateway, with the intention of letting his company in from the outside, when a musquet ball from a window pierced his heart, through a silver breast-plate,* and thick leather belt, and he fell instantly and perfectly dead. Hoosein Cawn, the Subadar of my company, a young man of a respectable family at Madras, who was raised at once to the rank he held, by bringing two hundred recruits for a new regiment, had been but lately transferred to our corps, and was therefore eyed with considerable jealousy by the Native officers in general, as a young upstart, who had seen no service. Fully aware of this feeling, he was the more zealous in the performance of every duty, and frequently entreated me to keep an eye upon him in action, and report his conduct accordingly. I had previously been detached with him for some months, and therefore became completely acquainted with his character, which being most exemplary, induced me to more friendly intercourse than is generally usual between European and Native officers, and we had occasionally beguiled a wet and tedious evening with a game of chess. This morning on the march,

he had again reminded me of my promise ; but, being suddenly called to lead the corps, by my commanding officer putting himself at the head of the Europeans, we were separated to some distance. I had, however, scarcely reached the top of the ladder when I heard a voice behind me, calling out " Oh sir ! remember your promise ! " and looking round, I perceived my little friend at my heels, he having contrived to scramble through the crowd, in his eagerness to perform some signal service. The words were scarcely spoken, before a cannon shot from the fort fractured his thigh, and broke the ladder. I got off, but he fell, and was carried into the hospital, where he died a few days afterwards.

The Fort of Ahmednugger, is one of the strongest I have ever seen on a plain, in all India. It is built of solid stone and chunam, and nearly circular, with a wide and deep dry ditch all round it, and large roomy circular bastions at short intervals, each containing three or four guns, pointed through casemated embrasures, with a solid terrace above, and loopholes for musquetry. These bastions were from fifty to sixty feet high ; the curtains being both short and low, having narrow ramparts with loopholes, cannon proof, but no guns. It had at this time at least sixty guns mounted on the bastions, from twelve to fifty-two pounders ; but from the confined nature of the casemates, many beautiful brass pieces of heavy metal, were rendered useless during this short siege. The glacis was very high, and covered about thirty feet of the walls ; but it had the fault of all Indian glacis, that of being too abruptly sloped outwards, so that the defences being once knocked off, an

enemy might find good shelter, close to the place. On a very large tower, or barbette, stood the Mahaletchmee, * a brass gun about twenty-two feet in length, and carrying a ball of seventeen pounds weight. This piece of ordnance was actually pointed in the direction of our battery, but in firing it, they carried away a piece of the parapet of the bastion directly in it's front: indeed, while only one or two guns on the works could send a ball near us, ours reached every part of the fort, and breached two contiguous bastions, down as far as the glacis would admit. This, however, was still from twenty to thirty feet from the foot of the wall, and even could we have got our scaling ladders down into the ditch, they would have been much too short to insure an assault. The enemy, thus attacked in an unusual way, finding their walls crumbling over their heads, and fearing a second Pettah exhibition, sued for a capitulation, and on the morning of the 12th of August, when our ammunition was running short, and the twelve pound shot nearly all expended, the General granted them terms, and our corps, then in the trenches, moved in and took possession, with a company of the 78th. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and the Khelladar was even assisted by us, to carry off treasure and effects, which afterwards turned out to be *circar*, or public property. About one thousand five hundred men, one third of whom were Arabs, quitted the fort with him, and became afterwards a band of lawless plunderers.

It was, however, a matter of little wonder that they gave

* Mahaletchmee, the great goddess Latchmee.

up the fort so early, when our ally, Gokliah, a Mahrattah chief residing in our camp, with a body of horse, wrote thus to his friends at Poonah:—"These English are a strange people, and their General a wonderful man: they came here in the morning, looked at the Pettah wall, walked over it, killed all the garrison and returned to breakfast! what can withstand them?" And when it is considered, that Holkar, even in the zenith of his power, once got his army inside, and was driven out with great loss, we need not be astonished at their surprise. Had we waited an hour or two longer, and battered a curtain, our loss would, in all human probability have been little or nothing, but the apparent contempt of danger evinced in our mode of procedure, while it astonished the defenders, struck a terror into the garrison of the fort, and all the surrounding country, which amply compensated for our loss and insured a capture of the utmost consequence to our future success. In the fort we found the Palace of Scindiah and several old buildings, which must originally have been houses of some consequence. In the former, which had a large garden attached to it, was a profusion of valuable articles, over which, as prize property, I had European sentries immediately placed: but the spirit of plunder suddenly overcame discipline; for all hands, even the sentries not excepted, speedily turned to, and when the General arrived, he found an indiscriminate crowd in the house, each helping himself to what came first to hand: for which two of our Native soldiers were instantly seized and hanged, in the only gateway, *in terrorem*; though the Europeans escaped. It is difficult to describe the articles which

were thus suddenly exposed to view. On entering with the General, I observed, in two apartments only, several dozens of large handsome pier glasses; two electrifying machines, an organ, a piano-forte, lustres, chandeliers, globes, and many other similar luxuries: in others, the richest stuffs of India, gold and silver cloths, splendid armour, silks, satins, velvets, furs, shawls, plate, cash, &c. &c.; all of which were undergoing the close examination of our unfortunate looties, who, however, were generally forced to relinquish their plunder before they quitted the place. This may give the reader some idea of the riches which the Khelladar carried off on one elephant, several carts, many camels and horses, &c.; to the amount of several lacs of rupees; but for which we afterwards brought him to a dear account.

This fort might be rendered twice as strong by cutting down the bastions to the lower tier, and turning the casemates into good embrasures, when all the defences would be available; in its present state it resembled nothing so much as an immense three decker aground, with a little sloop of war taking its station near her stern, and raking her till she surrendered.

As it was necessary to settle the captured country, previous to our advancing, Captain J. G. Graham, Pay-master of the army, was appointed collector of the Ahmednugger district. Major Kellet being lately dead, Captain Lucas was left in command of the fort, with the 2nd battalion of the 3rd regiment; along with Captain Fisher of the Bombay artillery, with some men training for that service; and Captain Carfrae, of the 3rd regiment, as Pay-master.

CHAPTER VI.

The first Mahrattah War — Aurungabad — Dowlatabad — Victory of Assaye, under General Wellesley — Battle of Kerjet Koriagaum — Visit of Scindia's Vakeel — Battle of Argaum — Elacheepoor and Gawilghur — Arrival of Amrut Row, and Ceremonial of his Introduction.

THE FIRST MAHIRATTAH WAR.

A FEW days after this achievement, the army marched onward, and reached Tokah, on the Godavery, on the 21st of August; from which time till the 28th was taken up in crossing the river, which was both deep and rapid. Tokah, formed at the junction of two branches of the river, is about fifty miles from Ahmednugger, and is a very pretty looking object from either side. We crossed below it, losing a few men, horses, and bullocks in the passage; our corps and the cavalry having preceded the army, to collect boats, and prepare ground on the opposite bank.

On the 26th, the 1st battalion of the 10th regiment, under Major Dallas, joined the army from Bellary, with three lacs of pagodas, and two thousand bullock-loads of supplies, having marched for nineteen days, without a halt; and on the 29th we arrived at Aurungabad, distant twenty-six miles.

Few places in India have been more magnificent, or more celebrated in former days, than Aurungabad; and few have suffered more, in every sense of the word, from the hand of time, the changes of fortune, and revolution of empires. It is now but a heap of splendid ruins, the mere shadow of it's former self; but that shadow still denotes what it must have been in it's glory. It is amazingly extensive, being said by the natives to be fifteen coss in circumference; and I think it may be as many miles. It has several walls, now of little strength, but on which much labour and expense must have been bestowed; and there are still a few entire Palaces and houses in the midst of it's devastation. The greatest curiosities are a large Mosque and mausoleum, erected by Aurungzebe, or Allum Geer, to the memory of the Princess Rabeah Dowránee; a daughter of Shah Mahmood Ghaznowee, and his favourite wife. It is built principally of white marble, and is the most elegant and chaste building I have ever seen in India: the minarets being about one hundred feet high, and beautifully finished. There was also an immense fountain, full of large carp, so tame as to come regularly to be fed on the top of the water; and a small mill at one end of it for grinding corn. Although this miniature machine was by no means a perfect model, yet so entirely novel was it to our Native soldiers, that it was not only viewed by all who could find time to go there, but also became a theme of conversation for a considerable time afterwards. Their surprise was indeed fully equal to that of the Bengalee, who, upon being questioned respecting an English gentleman, who had recently erected a wind-mill, ex-

claimed "What kind of man, this Englishman? Catch horse, and make work! catch bullock, and make work! and catch wind, and make work!" Nearly as much astonished were our Sepoys at this rude and imperfect water-mill, erected by some scientific Mollah, in a place, once the seat of Mussulman empire, and, of course, of all the science of that age. There are also many delightful gardens in and round the town; but it is now famous only for the great variety of superior fruit it produces, which is sent to all parts of the Peninsula. The Mussulmans being undoubtedly the best gardeners in the East, and the climate and soil of this place peculiarly favourable.

DOWLUTABAD.

About five miles to the north-eastward is the famous fortress of Dowlutabad, said to contain immense wealth, lodged there by the Nizam in his days of instability. It is a small conical hill, completely fortified, and considered by the natives to be impregnable. I have more than once, when in it's neighbourhood, attempted to get near and take a sketch of it from different directions, but was invariably foiled, by the extreme jealousy of the garrison, who positively prohibited my approach, and shewed ample and ready means to enforce that prohibition; though I believe, that since that time others have been permitted both to draw and to describe it very fully. Colonel Collins, the resident at Scindiah's court, having formally quitted that chief's camp, the day previous to our attack on Ahmednugger, was residing at Aurungabad, with an escort of troops, when we arrived near that city. On the

30th of August the army marched to the vicinity of Baulgaum, eleven miles; passing through a wide defile, formed by two ranges of hills, about six miles asunder; where we saw a party of Scindiah's horse, most likely watching for an opportunity to plunder, but, keeping at a respectable distance, they were not molested by us.

On the 31st, we marched to the foot of the range of hills to our right, and encamped near the fortified village of Bauningaum, the distance being about twelve miles. Halting the next day, to enable the Pioneers to construct some field-works near the village, in which to leave the 18th Native infantry, with the heavy guns, &c.; and sixty rounds of ammunition being issued to each man, our hearts beat high with expectation. We were to march at four o'clock in the morning, but some after-intelligence, made the General countermand the whole; and, leaving the Pioneers, with two companies, under my command, to destroy the new work, the army marched at six, A.M. on the 2nd of September, to the north bank of the Godavery, a distance of twenty-two miles and a half; at which they arrived opposite Raukusbhone, or Gaum, for it is called both, about two in the afternoon. This was not only a long, but a very hot march, and many men dropping down with fatigue, were left on the road, but arrived safely in the evening. Our party, after performing the work of destruction, followed the rear-guard, and heard some heavy firing to our left, which proved to be Colonel Stevenson's force, taking Jaulnah. Reaching our camp at four o'clock P.M., I enjoyed a swim across the river, to the town of

Raakusgaum, which, like Poonah, has stone steps to the water's edge. I mention this bathe, of all the luxuries of the East, the most refreshing, after a day's sunning, because an European soldier, among others, making the same attempt, was unfortunately drowned.

Here the Maharajah, Dowlut Row Scindiah, gave us the slip, as he had done to Colonel Stevenson, by retreating in another direction; and thus our long march was made for nothing. We had now a large Mahrattah force, of nearly ten thousand men with us, under Gokliah, Appa Sahib, or Appa Desai, Chief of Nepaunee, &c.; but the most useful of all were the two thousand Mysore cavalry, under Vishnapapundit or Vishnow Punt, as he was generally called. This fine old soldier always accompanied the rear-guard, and flanked the baggage on the march, as well as collected forage when we halted; thus saving our cavalry in particular, from the most fatiguing and harassing of it's duties.

On the 11th of September we arrived at Hudgaum, on the same bank of the Godavery; and here Major Hill joined us with supplies from the grand army. Captain Vesey, having displeased the General by a sudden application about shroffs, to our sorrow we were ordered to accompany the 18th, under Major Griffin, this day to Ahmednugger, leaving the army on the very eve of battle. We reached Ahmednugger, a distance of about one hundred miles, on the 28th; where we learned that a desperate action had been fought between our army and Scindiah's, which ended in a most signal victory.

BATTLE OF ASSAYE.

On the 21st of September, General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson met, and concerted a plan of combined movement, by which they expected to attack Scindiah's army simultaneously from opposite quarters, on the 24th. The two armies were at first not very far distant; but it was suspected that Colonel Stevenson's guides misled him, be that as it may, after a march of twenty-one miles, on the 23rd the General suddenly found himself in the vicinity of Scindiah's army, lately reinforced, it was said, to one hundred thousand men. When our troops had arrived at their ground, two horsemen were taken, who informed us, that the combined armies of Scindiah and the Berar Rajah, were encamped about five miles off, instead of twelve, as was supposed; and that the cavalry were actually preparing to move. Almost any other man would have hesitated to give battle to so very overwhelming a force, at the head of only four thousand five hundred men; but that decision of character which, by a series of immortal and increasing triumphs, has so pre-eminently marked his after-career in Europe, was here displayed, to the extreme dismay of the enemy, and the utter astonishment of all India. General Wellesley immediately ordered the rear-guard, strengthened by the 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Chalmers, to halt, and cover the whole of the baggage at the adjoining village; when moving on himself, with his staff, and Captain Johnson of the Bombay engineers, he ordered the picquets to follow, and the line to come up, as soon as formed. After

marching about three miles, he suddenly came up in sight of the enemy's army, drawn up in order of battle, on a small peninsula, formed by the rivers Kaitnah and Jootee; the cavalry being on their right, and the infantry and guns on the left; the river Kaitnah half a mile in their front, and the Jootee, with very steep banks, about three quarters of a mile in their rear. The General immediately determined to turn their left flank, a movement which would necessarily reduce their operations within a narrow space, and more effectually secure the flanks of his own little force, during the action. Captain Johnson was ordered to ride forward to examine the road, and then lead the infantry on to the attack. With an appearance of science, which I suspect they did not really possess, the enemy perceiving his intention, made a correspondent movement, to meet it, by bringing their whole force to face the meditated danger, forming across the ground in two lines, with their right close to the Kaitnah, and their left appuyed on the village of Assaye, and the Jootee river; during which movement their guns were by no means idle, and being worked by regularly trained artillery-men, they mowed down our men at every discharge. Our army, however, very soon crossed the river, and formed, the infantry in two lines, opposite to them, when our guns opened on those of the enemy, and our cavalry formed in a third line, in the rear of the infantry: our allies, the Mysoreans and Mahrattahs, being left on the other side of the river, to protect the rear, and watch a large body of the enemy's cavalry, who had been hovering on our flank from the last ground. The General soon perceiving that the British artillery were too few in

numbers and weight to cope with the overwhelming batteries of the enemy, ordered the firing to cease, and the infantry to advance, which they did in the most gallant manner, and were soon in possession of their front line of guns; when, forming afresh, they proceeded to attack a second line, where the whole of the enemy's force of infantry and cavalry, with half of their artillery, were posted, and well drawn up, with the river Jootee in their front. At this moment a body of the enemy's cavalry charged in our rear, and with their own gunners, and other rallied fugitives, took possession, not only of their own guns, which we had captured, but also those of the British; killing our artillery-men, and turning the guns on our line. They were enabled thus to succeed at this moment, because our cavalry had just then charged a large body of the enemy in front, who had, with the assistance of a very heavy and destructive fire from their guns, not only galled, but nearly annihilated the gallant 74th, and picquets on our extreme right. This last line, although it stood well, was at length broken, and the guns captured; while our cavalry, pursuing the fugitives, fell in with an immense column, who, though retreating, opposed them, and killed Colonel Maxwell, the Brigadier; nor were they completely routed, without a severe struggle, and heavy loss on our side. The second line being put *hors de combat*, the General, who was every where, placed himself at the head of the 78th regiment, faced about, and charged the enemy, who were in possession of the first line of guns, and routed them with great slaughter. Here ended the conflict; those who had captured our guns making off as

soon as they saw their danger : though about half past five a body of ten thousand cavalry came in sight, and made some demonstrations, but dared not charge ; and at eight o'clock in the evening they entirely disappeared, leaving us in quiet possession of the dear-bought field, with one hundred and three cannon, most of which were brass, and twelve howitzers, all beautiful guns, an immense quantity of ammunition, and one thousand two hundred dead bodies.

Amongst the spoils of this memorable day, were many standards, and a number of orderly books, kept by European officers ; by which it appeared, that they had ten thousand eight hundred regular infantry, and thirty thousand cavalry in the action : whilst our small body consisted of two European regiments, the 74th and 78th, nine hundred men ; and four native battalions, the 1st of the 4th, 1st of the 8th, 1st of the 10th, and 2nd of the 12th, amounting to two thousand four hundred infantry ; the 19th dragoons, three hundred, and the 4th, 5th, and 7th Native cavalry three hundred each, making one thousand two hundred ; being a total of four thousand five hundred.

Some of the prisoners said it was generally understood, that when Colonel Stevenson's and our force had united, we intended to offer them battle ; but when they first discovered only one body advancing, they thought them actually mad, as it was their own intention to have attacked our little camp the same day. Here may be seen the advantage of that prompt and energetic decision which so early characterised the hero of Assaye, as the first General of the age. He not only gained a splendid and important victory, but by anticipating his enemy, cramped

and confined his enormous force within such narrow bounds, that they could not form a larger front to oppose his handful, nor turn his flanks in the action: whereas, had they been permitted to assail his camp on the plain, defendants being always somewhat dispirited, they could have entirely surrounded it, and employed every man in the assault.

As soon as all the remains of our army were collected on the ground, the cavalry were ordered back, to bring on the camp equipage, baggage, &c.; but did not return till the next morning. The night after this victory, even to those few who had escaped unhurt, cannot be supposed to have passed very agreeably; what then must it have been to the numerous wounded, who lay on the cold ground without shelter, and many even without any kind of succour?

The dawn of the 24th of September was hailed by the victors with a mixed feeling of exultation and regret; for few, if any, of the survivors had not lost a friend, or had one or more lingering on the bed of sickness, and pierced with wounds.

Our loss, when fully ascertained, proved to be as follows:—

Killed, Europeans,	one Lieutenant-colonel,	nine	
	Captains,	twelve	Lieutenants
	and one Volunteer	-	- 23
	Soldiers of the three regiments,		
	Cavalry and infantry	-	- 198
Natives of the three regiments of cavalry,			
	and four battalions of infantry		428

Total Killed 649

Wounded, Europeans, one Lieutenant-colonel, two	
Majors, six Captains, eighteen	
Lieutenants, and three Ensigns	30
Soldiers	- - - - 442
Natives	- - - - 1,138
<hr/>	
Total Wounded	1,610
Missing	18
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Total killed, wounded, and missing	2,277
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As the loss fell much more heavily on the infantry than cavalry, it will appear that the English force, which kept the field of battle, with the captured guns, &c., on the night of the 23rd of September, could not have exceeded one thousand four hundred men !

The names of officers killed were,—

His Majesty's 19th dragoons,—Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, Brigadier, and Captain Boyle.

4th cavalry,—Captain Hugh Mackay, agent for public cattle.

5th,—Lieutenant Bonomie.

7th,—Captain M'Gregor, mortally wounded ; died in a few days.

Artillery,—Captains Fowler and Steel, and Lieutenant Griffiths.

His Majesty's 74th regiment,—Captains Aytone, M'Leod, Dyce, and Maxwell ; Lieutenants, J. Campbell, M. Campbell, and Lorn Campbell ; R. Neilson, James Grant, Morrison, Kernan, and M'Murdo. Volunteer Moore.

His Majesty's 78th regiment,—Lieutenant Douglas.

1st battalion of the 2nd regiment of Native infantry,—

• Lieutenant Brown, with the advanced picquet.

Wounded :—

His Majesty's 19th regiment,—Captains Cathcart and

G. Sale; Lieutenants N. Wilson and D. Young.

4th Cavalry,—Lieutenants Paling and Meredith.

5th,—Captain Colebrooke; Lieutenants Darke and

• M'Leod.

7th,—Captain M'Leod, badly.

Artillery,—Lieutenant Lindsay.

His Majesty's 74th regiment,—Major Swinton command-

ing; Captain Moore, badly; Lieutenants Lang-
lands, Shaw, and Mien.

His Majesty's 78th regiment,—Captain Mackenzie;

Lieutenants Larkins and Bethune.

1st battalion of the 4th regiment,—Lieutenant Mavor.

1st battalion of the 8th regiment,—Lieutenants Davie,

Fair, Hunter, De Graves, and Walker.

1st battalion of the 10th regiment,—Lieutenant Parrie.

2nd battalion of the 12th regiment,—Lieutenant-colonel

M'Leod, commanding, shot through the body; Ma-

• jor Mac Cally, badly in the head; Lieutenants,

Harvey, Snow, Bowdler, Degrey, and Smith.

The General had two horses killed under him, and his staff four more. Of one thousand two hundred horses, which the cavalry carried into action, one hundred and thirteen were killed, and three hundred and twenty-five wounded; leaving only eight hundred and sixty-two mounted in the whole brigade, at the end of the day.

Where all behaved so nobly, it may appear invidious* to mention the conduct of individuals; still, under the peculiar circumstances, I trust I may be excused in the indulgence of that feeling, which urges the recital.

In the enumeration of our force, I have already mentioned the name of Captain A. Grant, an infantry officer, as Major of brigade to the cavalry. In the heat of the action, when our line was at a stand, and the 74th regiment nearly annihilated, this officer rode up to his Brigadier, Colonel Maxwell, who, with the cavalry, was following in the rear of the infantry; and pointing to the remains of this noble regiment, called out, "Now's your time, Sir, to save the 74th regiment; do, pray order us to charge!" The Colonel assented, and "forward and charge!" was shouted and taken up in an instant. When they reached the enemy's guns, a heavy fire of grape-shot was poured in upon them, and many fell, but the survivors took ample vengeance on the gunners, and all who stood to support them; during which time Captain Grant was seen riding about the field, and overthrowing every opponent. But he still lives; and I shall, therefore, not say any thing further. Captain A. B. Campbell, of the 74th regiment, who lost his arm in the Sherwélé Jungle, and who had since broken his remaining arm, at the wrist, by a fall in hunting, was in the thickest of the action, with his bridle in his teeth, and a sword in his mutilated hand, dealing destruction around him. He was now a staff officer, and came off unhurt, though one of the enemy very nearly transfixed him with a bayonet, which actually pierced his saddle in the charge. He lived to be Post-master of the

subsidiary force, and to distinguish himself still further in the second campaign, but lost his life afterwards on the passage to England.

Captain Hugh Mackay, being a public staff officer, was not permitted to do regimental duty. He was one of the finest fellows I ever knew. Brave to a fault; yet modest, unassuming, humane, and generous. He was adored by the 4th regiment, to whom, though never their commander, he was a common father. This man was the most intimate friend I had in the army; but, unfortunately, the General and he did not agree well together, for each was ignorant of the other's worth; and Mackay, mild and conciliatory as he ever was with his equals or inferiors, was proud and unbending to him.

On the eve of the battle Mackay wrote to Captain Barclay, the Adjutant-general, requesting the General's permission to join his corps, on the march and in action; to which he got a positive refusal, and was told he could not be spared from his own department, the public cattle of the army. He offered to resign; was told he could not be spared at that moment. On which he wrote, that "Whenever he should see his corps going into action, he would, at all hazards, join it; that he knew he should thereby forfeit his commission, but he trusted, if he did lose it, it would be with honour." On the receipt of this hasty and ill-advised letter, the General is said to have exclaimed, "What can we do with such a fellow, Barclay? I believe we must e'en let him go;" and go he certainly did, heading the charge of his own regiment, and in a line with the leading squadron of the noble veteran 19th dragoons, he

fell, man and horse, close to one of the enemy's guns, pierced through by several grape shot. When in the very heat of the action, news was brought to the General that Captain Mackay was killed, his countenance changed, and the tear which fell upon his cheek was nature's involuntary homage to the memory of a kindred spirit.

On the 24th of September Colonel Stevenson's force arrived at Assaye, and immediately went in pursuit of the beaten enemy, whom he followed for some time; and I now return to Ahmednugger, where our corps was in charge of a large supply for the army, and from whence we were recalled by a kind letter from the General: but Captain Lucas having been detached to a distance, to save a small party assailed by a large body of the enemy, here we were forced to remain till his return, which took place on the night of the 2nd of October, when we learned the following particulars.

KURJET KORIAGAUM.

A company of the 12th regiment of Native infantry, under Lieutenant Morgan, having been detached from camp, to proceed to the Carnatic, in charge of various drafts from Native corps in our army, for new corps raising at Madras; along with this party, and taking advantage of their escort, were Captain O'Donnell and Lieutenant Bryant of the 2nd Native cavalry, proceeding to join their corps with the force under General Campbell. They had reached the vicinity of a village called Kurjet Koriagaum, about seventy miles from Ahmednugger, when they were suddenly attacked by a body of about one thousand five

hundred men, the former garrison of Ahmednugger, of whom at least one third were Arabs. Captain O'Donnell, who, though small, was a truly gallant fellow, immediately assumed the command, and led on his motley band, amounting, in the whole, to not more than one hundred men, to the charge. Lieutenant Bryant, a very powerful man, first saved the life of O'Donnell, who had snapped his pistol at the leader of the Arabs, and was about to be cut down by him, when Bryant put him to death; and then attacking their colour-bearer, cut him down also, and seized their standard. At this moment the enemy's cavalry appeared, and Captain O'Donnell drew off his little party into the village; but so closely were they pursued, that they were forced to take post in a large choultry, from whence the enemy could not dislodge them. Here the extraordinary courage and strength of Bryant, if it did not entirely save their lives, at least conduced to their preservation from famine. He harangued the Sepoys in broken English, not knowing a word of any native language, and continually sallied out with a few volunteers, in search of food, and as regularly killed some of their opponents. Amongst other feats, having broken his sword on some Arab's scull, the first day, he seized a musquet and bayonet, which he always used afterwards; and so dexterous was he with this new weapon, that he frequently put the bayonet through one man, and knocked a second down with the but end. One day, seeing a leader mounted on a beautiful mare, he immediately singled him out for his prey; and running him through the body, seized the mare by the bridle, and bore her off in

triumph. On this mare he afterwards rode all the time he remained in the Mahrattah country. Such a man, at such a season, if he was mad, as some asserted, was worth a dozen of sober, plodding fellows, who, calculating difficulties, would have sat despairing at home, rather than run such imminent risks on every occasion. Of the hundred men collected and blockaded in this spot, all the native officers behaved ill, and would have persuaded the men to capitulate, had not many of them taken courage by the behaviour of Lieutenant Bryant, to them a perfect stranger, and by the conduct of the other two European officers; who, though neither possessing sufficient bodily strength to cope, single-handed, with the Arabs, always shewed a proper spirit when their exertions were necessary. Matters were in this state, when Captain Lucas, with four companies and two guns, made his appearance and relieved them, without striking a blow, for the enemy had withdrawn, aware of his approach; and acting strictly up to the orders he had received, "to make no delay, and risque nothing beyond the relief of the party," he would not attack their camp outside the village, nor suffer any of his detachment to meddle with them; but marched back as fast as he came, and enabled us to move off to join the army, the party thus relieved returning with us. As it is always easy to find fault, Captain Lucas was very generally blamed for not attacking the Arab camp, only two or three miles out of his way, when the very well-being of an army depended on his security and speedy return. In my mind he acted as became a soldier. I do not know the casualties of the little party, but believe they were numerous the

first day, and that they lost their horses and all their baggage during their retreat into the village.

Our supplies being collected, we left Ahmednugger on the 6th of October; crossed the Godavery at Raukusgaum, on the 12th; reached Aurungabad, a distance of one hundred and thirty miles, on the 16th, where we halted for two days; when, being reinforced, we proceeded on the 18th to Poolmarry, thirteen miles and a half, through a narrow Pass, between small hills, a mile and a half in length, the hills being steep on both sides of the road, forming a favourable site of attack for the discomfiture of such a convoy as our's was. The battle of Assaye had collected all the birds of prey in the country, a few following the army, and the rest taking possession of the inheritance left them, by their kindest benefactor, man, on the field of battle. On the 19th I killed one on the march, an adjutant, which seemed by it's attention in following us, to be anticipating a feast on the road. From the tips of it's wings this bird measured ten feet across, and was exactly similar to those so cherished at Calcutta and Fort William, as public scavengers. I mention this extraordinary fact, because I had never before seen one in any part of India, the vicinity of Calcutta and the Hooghly only excepted; nor did I ever again see any in after-times in the Mahrattah country; proving the strength and power of their olfactory nerves. We encamped this day at Bunkinooly, having a nullah and small hedge in our rear; the distance being about fourteen miles.

On the 20th, after an easy march, on a very good road, we encamped on the north bank of a deep river, close to

the village of Palhood, a distance of thirteen miles and a half. On this march we passed the second tank or lake I had seen in the Mahrattah country; the first being at Aurungabad; whereas in all other parts of India, they are as common as villages.

On the 21st our whole march was through a most romantic and picturesque country, covered with trees and verdure, and abounding with game; of course most delightful to the eye long tortured by the sight of a monotonous cotton soil, and bleak stony hills, without the slightest relief. We encamped to the eastward of the fortified town of Adjunteh, twelve miles from our last ground. This has evidently been a place of some consequence, in days gone by; the Pettah or town is on the south bank of a deep and beautiful stream, being well fortified, and possessing many capital buildings, in which our wounded officers were residing. Over the river, a good stone bridge conducted us to the fort, on the north bank; a very neat stone octagon, in which our wounded men were accommodated, in very airy comfortable barracks, which were quite novel in native fortifications. A famine then raging pretty generally in the country, this delightful place appeared to have suffered a very large share of its horrors; the ground all round being actually strewed with the mangled remains of thousands of its victims. Unfortunate and wretched nation! subject at once to two of the heaviest scourges to which mortality is liable, war and famine! And *we*, to our shame be it said, the willing instruments of the former!

On the 22nd of October we descended the Adjunteh Pass, a gradual declivity of about three miles, and joined

the army, encamped two miles beyond it; only six miles distant from Adjunteh.

On the 24th we got intelligence of the capture of Asseerghur, by Colonel Stevenson's army, and of a signal victory gained by General Lake, over Scindiah's troops, under the personal command of a Mr. Lewis, in which the Mahrattahs suffered a severe defeat, with great slaughter, and the loss of fifty or sixty guns; the Bengalees and Madrasees keeping equal pace in the race of glory.

SCINDIAH'S VAKEEL.*

The army made marches and counter-marches, as our intelligence prompted, without any thing of consequence occurring, until the 7th of November, when, during our encampment at Chichooly, a respectable Vakeel from Dowlut Row Scindiah arrived in our neighbourhood with proposals for peace. He was escorted into camp in the evening, by the Honourable Mounstewart Elphinstone and Lieutenant A. Campbell, the General's Aid-de-camp, with a squadron of Native cavalry, under Captain O'Donnell, of Kurjet Koriagaum. He was richly dressed, and well mounted; and had an elephant, two camels, and many led horses, &c., escorted by ninety of his master's best cavalry. Although we had every reason to conclude his mission was urgent, yet that superstition I before mentioned, here interfered, and it being deemed an unlucky day, he was not introduced to the General.

Those dispensers or disposers of celestial favours, the

* Wakeel, or Vakeel, literally translated, would be agent; but it is always used for an Ambassador, or Minister from one court to another.

Brahmins, having, however, kindly decreed the 8th to be auspicious to the ceremony, preparations were then made for the due reception of the potent Scindiah's Ambassador; and many of us, in the best uniforms that a year's wet, dust, and sunning, could afford, met at the General's tent at four o'clock in the afternoon. To our great mortification, we very speedily found that this hour had also been proscribed; and therefore, making a virtue of necessity, amused ourselves as well as we could, until the ghutries had chimed five, when every officer who could command a charger, or a tolerably clean suit, again assembled, and the procession set forward at sunset, composed of about one hundred gentlemen, and as many troopers. Having passed at a canter to the Mahrattah lines on our left, and there meeting the Vakeel, who with his friends had dismounted to receive the General, we all alighted, when a *gullehmillow*, or hugging scene, commenced among the great folks, which lasted some minutes; after which the Ambassador and General Wellesley again mounted, followed by the rest, and the cavalcade returned by torchlight to head-quarters, where the band of his Majesty's 78th regiment and a company were drawn up, who saluted the Vakeel as he dismounted. The General's tent, a large square, single poled, of about thirty feet, although half the officers had retired, could hardly retain the genteel crowd which remained. Taking a particular interest in such scenes, I contrived to get close to the General's chair. He first handed the Vakeel in, and seated him on his right hand, and Gokliah, our head ally, on his left, and so on with the rest, according to their rank. A silver salver

with betel was then brought in, which the General distributed with his own hand, to all the seven natives on his right and left, entitled to such a compliment. He then gave them rich dresses and shawls, and lastly, presented the Vakeel in particular with two superb jewels, and a rich gold chain, which were immediately fastened round his turban, and several more beautiful shawls and dresses were added to this donation : during which time the band of the 78th played " God save the King," and several other tunes. The great men conversed on common topics, till the last present, when the Vakeel told General Wellesley, in very good Hindoostanee, that " the Maharajah, his master, wished for nothing so ardently as his friendship and amity;" and rising to take leave, was conducted to the door by the General. A great concourse having assembled at the entrance, it was with difficulty the guard could make way for a very large elephant and beautiful horse to be brought up, and presented to the Vakeel, who, mounted on a superb white charger, most richly caparisoned, galloped off in great style, followed by his presents and escort ; and thus ended the first visit.

The Vakeel, Eswunt Row Goreporee, was a man of high rank in the Mahrattah Empire, and nephew to the famous Morari Row : he was also dignified with the Persian title of " Ameer ul Oomrah " Lord of Lords : so extraordinarily do the Hindoo chiefs, particularly the Mahrattahs, prize the Mussulman titles. In person he was much above the common size ; thin, but athletic, and his countenance bespoke the man of sense and dignity. He seemed much pleased with the General's attention, and indeed so was

every one ; to behold the man, who had only a few days before resembled a lion in battle, now treating one of the foe in such a liberal and delicate manner, without even hinting at any thing likely to give him the slightest uneasiness.

On the 9th of October, five o'clock being, I suppose, again declared auspicious, the General, at that hour, accompanied as the day before, returned the Vakeel's visit. The ceremony was nearly the same as formerly, but I observed a degree of depression on his fine countenance, which I attributed to the news that day received, and announced by a royal salute from our guns, of the defeat of seven battalions of his master's troops under the walls of Agrah, by General Lake. We returned home in the same state, by torch-light again : whilst matters remained in similar uncertainty, and we made several marches without seeing any more of the enemy until the 29th of November.

BATTLE OF ARGAM

On the morning of the 29th, our army marched early, each man having sixty rounds of ammunition, and about five miles on, met a Vakeel from Bonsala, the Rajah of Berar, whom the General conversed with, but did not stop to receive. He told the General that his master's army was encamped at Putheilee, about ten miles in our front, and entreated him to halt short of that place, which the General refused. He then asked seriously, " Whether, if he came up with their army, he would attack them ?" to which he replied, " Most undoubtedly ;" and advised him to remain with the baggage, which was left at a village

eight miles on the road, in charge of the rear-guard under Lieutenant-colonel Orrock. About this time we observed a cloud of dust a few miles off on our left flank, and concluded, as it proved to be, that it was Colonel Stevenson's force, moving for the same object; though no one but the General knew what that object was. Passing through a beautiful country, full of game, we even amused ourselves, as usual, in hunting and shooting on the right flank the whole way, until after a march of ten miles, we found our camp colours at a stand; and Colonel Stevenson's likewise pitched to our left. Two Vakeels had also met the Colonel on the march, and persuaded him to halt, assuring him that we were going to do the same; but General Wellesley was not to be outwitted, having sent an order across the country, with distinct instructions for him to move on. At two o'clock we reached our ground, and were ordered to form and rest on our arms; shortly after which we heard the sound of cannon in front, and missed the General and our picquets. He soon returned, however, ordered us to shoulder and move on with our guns, which was instantly obeyed; though the country about here was so thickly covered with high grain, that we could see nothing in our front for the first three miles; when coming near a walled village, and hearing the roaring of cannon increase, we discovered that we had got into the vicinity of the enemy. The road through which alone we could advance, was much circumscribed by the high jowaree;* and though at the village it opened out a little, still our march was con-

* A coarse Indian grain.

siderably impeded by the picquets and detachment which had led being thrown into momentary disorder, by the sudden opening of fifty pieces of cannon on them, the instant they had passed the village. As soon as we could pass through them we formed in front of the village Sirsoney, having a tolerably extensive plain of at least three miles before it, on which appeared the armies of Bonsala in the fore-ground, and Scindiah's in their rear ; forming a kind of doubtful potency on either wing. The Berar infantry, with about fifty guns forming one line, with two thousand Arabs on the left, and Bennee Syng's five thousand Ghosains in the centre.

Waiting for the arrival and formation of Colonel Stevenson's force on our left, we were exposed to a heavy cannonade for some minutes, which our guns feebly tried to answer ; and in this position, our corps being drawn up exactly in front of the village, on which the enemy's batteries were pointed, as the only entrance to the plain, severely suffered, in having Lieutenant Turner, two Subadars, one Jemadar, and forty Sepoys knocked down by cannon shot. The precious remains of the gallant 74th were on our right, and beyond them the 78th ; whilst on our left were the 1st battalion of the 4th, and the 2nd regiment to the left of them ; I could not see further. At about half-past four we were ordered to leave our guns and advance, Colonel Stevenson's force which had further to march, having just then formed up on our left. It was a splendid sight to see such a line advancing, as on a field-day ; but the pause when the enemy's guns ceased firing, and they advanced in front of them, was an awful one. The Arabs,

a very imposing body, singled out our two European regiments; and when we arrived within about sixty yards, after a round of grape, which knocked down ten of our men, and about as many in each of the European regiments, they advanced and charged us, with tremendous shouts. Our three corps were at this time considerably in front of the rest of the line, and a struggle ensued, in which we killed and wounded about six hundred of these Arabs, and our corps alone took eight standards. Whilst this was acting, nearly in the centre, I observed Benec Syng's Ghosains, dressed like beef-eaters, bearing down to turn our flank; but the Arabs once routed, and the rest of our line coming up, there was little more to do, and it was soon a perfect rout. The enemy's cavalry made two feeble attempts to charge our two flank corps, under Captains Maitland and Vernon, but were repulsed by a steady fire from each. Our own cavalry had hitherto been kept in the rear, but the General now ordered them to charge, and they followed the enemy for some miles, cutting down about three thousand of the fugitives; who, however, contrived to carry away a few light guns, mounted as gallopers, and left us in quiet possession of the ground they had occupied, with thirty-eight fine cannon, and immense quantities of ammunition and stores. The field of battle was strewn with arms, and about one thousand sun-dial turbans, like those worn by the Bengal army; and twenty or thirty standards also fell into our hands. By the account of the prisoners, it appeared that the Bonsala's army alone, commanded by his brother, Nana Bahah, amounted to ten thousand regular infantry, fifty guns, and

thirty or forty thousand cavalry ; and Scindiah's troops, drawn up in their rear, were declared to have taken no share in the action. However that might be, the General was extremely displeased with the Maharajah, and accused him of a breach of his promise, to separate himself entirely from the Bonsala. Of the army actually engaged, the five thousand Ghosains, under Bence Syng, escaped to Gawilghur, and the rest dispersed in various directions. This was Colonel Stevenson's last engagement, and closed a long career of honourable and gallant services. He was even then so ill, that General Wellesley endeavoured to persuade him not to go into the action : he did, however, come in a howdah, or litter, on an elephant, and died a few days afterwards. The General's order on this occasion, while it did justice to the memory of an excellent old soldier, did honour to his own heart.

The loss of our army amounted to nearly four hundred men in killed and wounded ; of which small number only sixty were actually killed, but cannon-shot wounds are no joke in general. The officers wounded were Lieutenant Donaldson of the 94th, mortally. Lieutenant Turner of the 1st battalion of the 3rd regiment, severely. Lieutenant Barnaby of the cavalry. Captains Vernon of the 12th, and Burke and Dalrymple of the artillery, slightly. Captain M'Kenzie of the 78th, and Lieutenants Langland of the 74th, and Robertson and Campbell of the 94th.

Lieutenant Turner, of our corps, had his thigh broken by a cannon ball, while the officers were standing in the rear of their companies, and the men were sitting in line, to avoid unnecessary exposure ; and he had the tip of a

little finger and the but end of a pistol shot off, on the opposite side, at the same instant, we knew not how. Though a cripple for life, this fine young man recovered in the general hospital, contrary to the expectation of all his medical attendants. A youthful and hale constitution, and spirits never to be subdued, performing almost a miracle in his favour; but with such a fracture, it was impossible ever to recover the entire use of his limb. He lives still, but is subject to occasional exfoliations. Of three Native officers wounded, two died in the hospital shortly after; of whom, Subadar Ally Cawn, a man so uncommonly diminutive in person, that we used to call him the little cock sparrow, was one of the best and bravest soldiers I ever knew. He was at this time far advanced in life, and had earned the respect and esteem of every European officer, as well as of every native in the corps; and what was very remarkable, this Liliputian hero had as strong a voice, as he had a great soul. In action he was the life and soul of those around him, and in devoted affection to the service he had no superior. The whole of the flesh and sinews of the hinder part of both thighs being torn away by a large shot, he fell, and could not rise again; but as soon as the action was over, he requested his attendants to carry him after us, that his dear European comrades might see him die. We had halted on the field, upwards of a mile in front of where he fell, when he arrived, and spoke to us with a firm voice and most affectionate manner; recounted his services, and bade us all adieu. We endeavoured to encourage him, by asserting that his wound was not mortal, and that he would yet recover. He said "He felt assured of the con-

trary, but he was not afraid of death; he had often braved it in the discharge of his duty, and only regretted that he should not be permitted to render further services, to his honourable masters." He died shortly afterwards; and his son was pensioned on twelve pagodas a month, or 57*l.* per annum; a most liberal and ample provision for any native. In such a service, who would be a coward?

Lieutenant Bryant, of whom such honourable mention has been made at Kurjet Koriagaum, doing duty with the 4th cavalry, was lucky enough on this occasion to capture an excellent charger, which I purchased from him shortly after, for one hundred pounds, and to save the life of a little Mahrattah boy, about five years old whose father was killed in the charge. This boy he cherished while he lived, but so *outré* were his habits, that he left him a perfect pickle, when he died himself, some time afterwards. Lieutenant Langlands, of the 74th, was close to us in the action, when a powerful Arab threw a spear at him, and, drawing his sword, rushed forward to complete his conquest; the spear having entered the flesh of the leg, and cut it's way out again, stuck in the ground behind him, when Langlands grasped it, and turning the point, threw it with so true an aim, that it went right through his opponent's body, and transfixed him within three or four yards of his intended victim! All eyes were for an instant turned on these two combatants, when a Sepoy of our grenadiers rushed out of the ranks, and patting the Lieutenant on the back, exclaimed, "*Atchah Sahib! bhote atchah keeah!*" "Well, Sir! very well done!" Such a ludicrous circumstance, even in a moment of such extreme peril, could not

pass unnoticed, and our soldiers all enjoyed a hearty laugh, before they concluded the work of death on the remaining ill-fated Arabs.

ELITCHPOOR AND GAWILGHUR.

Elâtcheepoor,* as the natives call it, is the capital of a very fertile and rich province, including the country round Argaum, with a strong hill fort in the range which bounds that plain to the northward, called Nurnaalah, and another still stronger to the eastward, called Gawilghur. The town itself, which is several miles distant from Argaum, had been a place of importance, but was now much injured by war, famine, and desertion. Some convenient buildings were, however, yet found for our sick and wounded, and the army moved into the neighbourhood of Gawilghur. Colonel Stevenson's force, now commanded by another old and gallant soldier, Colonel Haliburton, moved round to the opposite side of the range, as it was understood to be more accessible than from the south.

On the 7th of December we commenced operations from the Pettah and valley below, and got on, with few casualties, in the following days, up to the 15th; but every man of science in our camp could readily foresee that this labour was in vain, further than as a diversion; though Colonel Haliburton, having overcome difficulties incalculable, had actually contrived to breach the outer wall on the other side; the inner being so retired, as to be out of the reach of his guns.

* Elatchee is the Hindoostanee for Cardamum.

I must here pause, to relate an anecdote of our brave and kind-hearted Brigadier, Colonel Wallace, during this siege. We had been one night working very hard at a battery half way up the hill, and afterwards cleared a road up to it, but no power we possessed could move our iron battering guns above a few hundred yards from the bottom, so steep and rugged was the ascent. I was just relieved from working by a fresh party, and enjoying a few moments' rest on some clean straw, when the officer commanding the working party came up to Colonel Wallace, and reported that it was impossible to get the heavy guns up to the battery. The Colonel, who was Brigadier of the trenches, exclaimed,—“Impossible! hoot mon! it must be done! I've got the order in my pocket!” These words, although they failed to transport the guns into the battery, fully illustrated the true character of this noble and devoted soldier. The guns were abandoned and covered with leaves, and two brass twelves, and two howitzers substituted in the mock battery, for a breaching one it never was, our shot returning down the hill, to the very muzzles of the guns, without injuring the solid wall against which they were aimed. Colonel Haliburton having informed the General that his breach would be ready on the morning of the 15th, preparations were made on our side, and parties ascended the hill, to cause some diversion, while the main assault was carried on from the northward. The breach, though defended by Beeney Syng in person, was soon carried, but considerable opposition took place between the walls; the Chief and many of his brave followers sacrificing their lives in a fruitless resistance. The second,

on inner wall, was carried by escalade in a very gallant manner; the light infantry of the Scotch brigade leading, and opening a gate for our party to enter, when the garrison, of at least four thousand men, who never dreamed of quarter, were either killed, or threw themselves over the walls, and were generally dashed to pieces. Beenee Syng, and some other Gosain chiefs, before they sallied out to defend the breach, had most barbarously mutilated their women, who were found by our people weltering in their blood. Thus fell, after a siege of only eight days, one of the strongest hill forts in India, and with it the hopes of the confederated chieftains, who now earnestly entreated for peace.

Our loss in the siege and capture of Gawilghur was,—Lieutenant Young, killed; and Lieutenant-colonel Kenney, commanding the storming party, and Lieutenant Parlby, wounded. Total of killed and wounded, one hundred and twenty-six Europeans and Natives.

On the morning of the 16th of December, Major John Malcolm, Resident in Mysore, who had left our camp on some political mission, returned with an escort; his arrival being announced by the usual salute. Several officers also joined the force by this opportunity, under Captain T. H. S. Conway, from the Carnatic; and though some of our sick were among them, and actually heard the firing at Gawilghur, they were, poor fellows, shared out of the prize-money. On the 20th, General Wellesley made Gokliah a present of a handsome bandy, or gig, and horse, which had come with the guard in the park, all the way, apparently for this sole purpose, and drove him home himself in it.

The General, indeed, appeared altogether in such high spirits and good humour, that we augured some peaceful tidings must have reached him.

AMRUT ROW.

On the 22nd Amrut Row, brother to the Peishwa, arrived in the Mahrattah camp; and at seven o'clock the next morning our whole line was ordered out, in open order, on an extensive plain near Deworwarrah, when this man, whom Holkar had set up as Peishwa, and whom we had chased out of Poonah in April, arrived in front of the right, attended by the General, Major Malcolm, and all the staff, and passing down the front, was saluted by the whole line; after which, taking post at a distance in front, we passed in open column of review, and saluted again. This must have been to him and his attendants a sight as novel as it was grand, to see twelve fine corps in marching array, at the same moment, with a respectable artillery; and to us it was equally interesting, for Amrut Row was, by all accounts, a very fine fellow, and no troops in the world could have exhibited a finer line, particularly the cavalry, such a thing never being attempted in any Native service. He expressed himself highly gratified, and requested the General to allow him to present each corps with a *zâfût* of three hundred rupees. This parade taking up till half-past ten, the officers of the army were invited to the General's tent at noon, to witness the ratification of a treaty with Ragojee Bonsala, Rajah of Berar; and I had the pleasure, at the head of a flank company, to salute the Prime Minister of Scindiah, the same evening.

As these ceremonies were not likely to occur again during our stay in the East, I was, of course, curious in attending to every particular. At noon, Bonsala's Vakeel, Yeetel Punt, arrived without any state, and all the officers having assembled at the door of the General's tent, he came out with Major Malcolm. They saluted the Vakeel, and each taking a hand, conducted him to a seat between them. As soon as compliments had passed, he pulled a bundle of papers out of his pocket, and the General, at the same time, ordering a similar one to be brought from his sleeping tent, they then exchanged them; the Vakeel declaring that such and such marks in Mahrattah were the Rajah's *bona fide* personal signature, with the date correct. The band immediately struck up "God save the King;" a royal salute was fired from the park, and a company of Europeans presented arms. The Vakeel seemed delighted, and said,—“That the General would judge of his anxiety for peace, by his returning two days within the limited time.” The General answered, through Major Malcolm, “That he, on his part, hoped the peace would be as lasting as it was sincere, on the part of the British Government:” after which, the band played the “British Grenadiers!” This was a proud and delightful moment to us all; and after some further conversation, in which many professions of mutual friendship were made, the company departed, without much ceremony, to meet again in the evening. At three o'clock, P. M., our light companies arrived at the General's tent, to wait the arrival of Scindiah's Dewaun, who made his appearance in great state about five, attended by the General, Major Malcolm, and all the

English officers off duty, Eswunt Row Goreporee, and other respectable natives ; and followed by state elephants, camels, horses, &c., and two hundred of his master's chosen cavalry, as an escort. We saluted him with presented arms, and the " Grenadiers' March ;" the park also resounding it's shout of welcome.

A decrepit old Brahmin, whose nose and chin almost met each other, and dressed in a coarse white cloth, without a single ornament, yet the Prime Minister and chief ruler of a most extensive kingdom, now stood before our astonished eyes. He was conducted into the tent by the General and Political Agent, as usual, and seated between them. I looked in vain for indications in his old countenance, of that superior and intelligent mind he was known to possess. He said little, and appeared very grave, some thought him sulky ; but our acquaintance Goreporee was much pleased, and moved backwards and forwards from his seat, and whispered the Dewaun and Major Malcolm alternately ; from *his* looks alone, I concluded that the old gentleman had come with full intention to treat for peace, and no longer to procrastinate, for *he* had formerly appeared much dejected, while his master was wavering and prevaricating. This Goreporee was a fine fellow, if outward appearances are to be relied on, for he had a manly person and expressive countenance. He asked the General, in the Dewaun's name, " whether he would attend to his mission ?" or something to that purpose ; to which the answer was, " I shall be happy to confer with him to-morrow." To the next question,— " Do you march to-morrow ?" the answer was, " Yes." " In what direc-

tion?" — "I never tell any body when, or where I intend to march." They then said it was near sunset, and it would be unlucky to stay beyond it; when the General, happy to get over this ceremony, having to return Yeetel Punt's visit, as soon as it should be dark, gave them their leave in the usual manner, and we mounted to conduct our great men a part of the way. It was dark, however, long before we reached the encampment of the Vakeel of Berar, in whose tent there was a carpet spread on the floor, upon which we all squatted like a company of tailors. Yeetel Punt was a little plump person, whose appearance by no means indicated his consequence, though he proved himself a well-informed man, the moment you came to converse with him. Observing that Major Malcolm made use of many Persian words in his Hindoostanee, he asked him if he understood Persian; a reply in the affirmative produced a very pretty stanza in that language, which appeared to me most apposite, expressive of his sense of the General's kindness to him, and then added in Moors,* for the General's ear, that his having succeeded in making a peace, would give him a consequence with his master, which he could not otherwise have ever hoped to acquire. The General as kindly and readily replied, "That he had by his conduct throughout, well merited his approbation, and that of his master, and that whoever acted his part with integrity and diligence, could not fail to meet with a just reward." Very much did I wish to have put in a few words, but my place forbade such presumption; and here

* Hindoostanee.

ended these interesting conferences. The war was now terminated, though to secure the fidelity of the wavering Scindiah, we made a few marches more, and then returned towards Poonah.

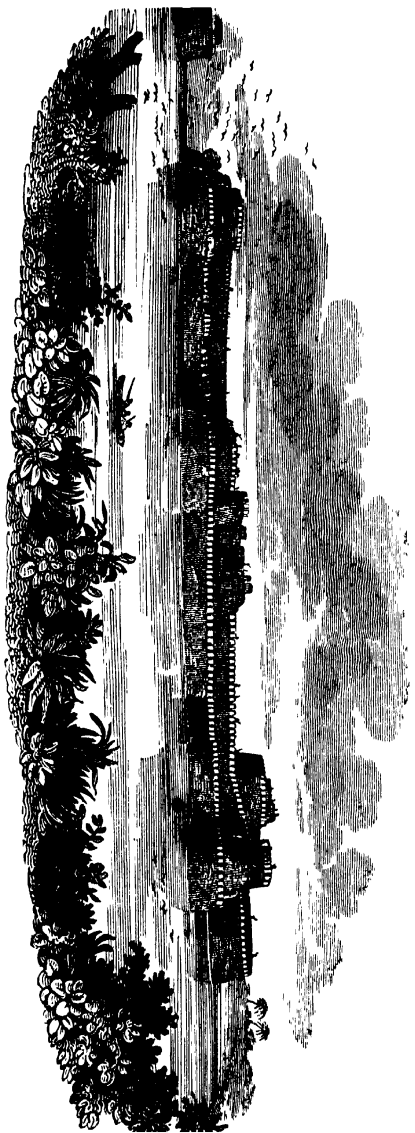
CHAPTER VII.

Mankarseer — Sholapoor — Poonah — Return to Bombay — Second Mahrattah War — Capture of the Fort of Chandore — Lassulgaum — Dhroop — Capture of Gulnah — The Athawecsy Country — Surat — Soanghur — Serai — Governor Duncan — Cascade of Gokaik.

MANKARSEER.

It was in the month of January 1804, while on the march, as we supposed homewards, that the General got accounts of the Ahmednugger Kheladar, being in force, and committing depredations at some distance ; on which we made two or three long marches, though without success. Being at length determined to come up with, and punish this lawless banditti, he formed a select party, consisting of the cavalry brigade, some European foot, and a corps formed by one hundred volunteers from each native battalion ; in all, about one thousand two hundred infantry ; who, allowing for all the guards, &c., generally mustered eight hundred on a march ; and putting himself at our head, for I had the honour to be one of his volunteers, we moved at a rate no one had ever thought of before. Our common marches were between twenty and thirty miles a day, and on the 6th of February, when we came up

with the enemy's camp at ten o'clock, we had marched fifty-four miles, in the last twenty-four hours. On seeing us approach, the Arab infantry slunk into a walled village called Mankarseer, and the mounted fellows began to move off as fast as possible. They were, when all collected, said to have amounted to fifty thousand men, with four guns, immense treasure and plunder, and abundance of cattle, taken indiscriminately wherever they went; and we saw a very extensive, though most motley camp, as we approached. Lieutenant-colonel Orrock with the 8th regiment, having been left with all our baggage at Perinda, on our march, the General ordered me to take two hundred volunteers and dash into the village; to secure all the arms, and, if unopposed, grant quarter to the Arabs. This was immediately done, while he placed himself at the head of the cavalry brigade, and the infantry were directed to follow as fast as possible. Our native allies having accompanied us, to them was assigned the task of attacking the enemy's camp, which they did with great spirit, Gokliah, Appa Desai, and Vishnoupunt, each leading a few followers to the charge. The cavalry moving on abreast, ready to protect them from any ambush; but our dragoons unfortunately mistaking them for our opponents, as they had not appeared before all the morning, being at a distance on the right flank, to secure the enemy, charged them, and before the mistake was rectified, cut down two or three, and had one of their own men cut down, in self-defence. This mistake was, however, momentary only, and a heavy body of the enemy's horse suddenly appearing, they rallied, and were led on in perfect order to the



THE FORT OF SHOLAPOOR,
From a small Island on the adjoining Lake.

